Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

●

CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS IN
SOCIAL MOBILITY RESEARCH*

RICHARD F. CURTIS
Yale University

ABSTRACT
An orientation to the study of social mobility in general, as it affects individual behavior, is suggested. Present knowledge confounds changes in prestige or power with movement between groups and movement between subcultures. All three legitimately represent mobility, but their effects on individuals involve different mechanisms. Along with other problems, predicting the consequences of mobility requires handling the simultaneous action of three kinds of movement.

Empirical research on the correlates of social mobility has been well summarized recently from several different perspectives.[1] The results of the empirical literature cited, however, are inconclusive. Replication of findings, though available in some instances, seems to be hard to achieve, perhaps as a result of the lack of a standard definition of social mobility at either the conceptual or the operational level. Nevertheless, researchers and theorists alike share a rather general orientation to social mobility stemming largely from the work of Sorokin.[2] While this orientation stresses the importance of mobility as a general process, studies of different types of mobility appear to yield different results. The traditional distinctions in mobility research—between orientations or motives and experiences, between inter- and intra-generational mobility, between mobility in different parts of the social structure, and between mobility along different rank systems (such as income, occupation, education, reputation, etc.)—are empirically valid. Our generalizations are limited to very specific types of events. If the notion of social mobility in *general* is to be useful, however, it requires conceptual clarification. The purpose of this paper is to suggest a focus for mobility research that should connect different kinds of findings, thus making empirical studies cumulable. The general question addressed is: "How are individuals affected by moving in social space?" From the societal viewpoint, mobility is a *process*: a "moving equilibrium" may be maintained by the patterned reshuffling of individuals. From the individual's point of view, mobility is a *change*: his end state differs from his previous condition. Understanding of the dynamics of the societal process may be approached

by investigation of the consequences of the individual change. To do so, we must consider (1) the dimensions of mobility, (2) the conditions under which mobility occurs, and (3) the correlates of mobility.

THE DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Mobility is " . . . the shifting of individuals within social space . . ."[3] An individual is the unit which moves, and the field in which he moves is a social structure. The location of individuals in social space has traditionally been handled by sociologists along three dimensions: (1) location in a matrix of interactions, i.e., group membership, (2) shared ideas, or culture, and (3) relative prestige and/or power. This is equivalent to saying that a status has three components. It involves interaction with occupants of other statuses, it is conceptualized, and with it some degree of prestige and/or power is associated. In the "ideal" case of social mobility, one discontinues interaction in a social class with its distinctive subculture, its perquisites, style of life, voice in societal affairs, etc., and initiates participation in another. It is possible to think about social mobility, however, without social class assumptions if the dimensions of social space (i.e., the components of statuses) are borne in mind as analytically separable.

Movement of persons (or the families which derive status from them) along these three dimensions underlies the concept of social mobility as defined operationally in current measurement techniques. Unfortunately, such techniques confound movements along different dimensions. The consequences of different types of mobility are likewise confounded. Indeed, quantification in mobility research must await further development of the theory and measurement of status and social distance. In the meantime, however, considering these dimensions of mobility (although they do not correspond exactly to any particular set of measures) provides a basis for ordering data gathered in terms of traditional measures. A typology consisting of "pure" cases of movement along each dimension, and the possible combinations, is illustrated in Table I.

This typology is applicable to any social system with internal prestige or power differentiation, involving status units (e.g., individuals or families), and subgroups and subcultures. It may refer to a soldier in the army who receives a commission, as well as to the fall of one of America's "old families."

Types I, II, and III represent movement between groups only, between subcultures only, and between prestige and/or power positions only. The association between group, culture, and prestige or power in a

TABLE I

Mobility Type:	Movement between:		
	Groups	Cultures or Subcultures	Amounts of Prestige and/or Power
I	+		
II		+	
III			+
IV	+	+	
V	+		+
VI		+	+
VII	+	+	+

society is sufficiently strong that it is difficult to think of cases in which one such change occurs without any change along the other two dimensions. Roughly to illustrate the types, however, for the purpose of contrasting differences in the effects of movement along the three dimensions, some of the possible cases in point are listed below, among the illustrations of the types. Types IV, V, and VI are combinations, taking motion along two of the dimensions at a time, and Type VII represents the resultant of motion through three social dimensions simultaneously. They are listed below in reverse order so as to begin with vertical social mobility.

Type VII: As noted earlier, this is the "ideal" case of social class mobility. If a social class is a more or less interacting group, evaluated in relation to other such groups and carrying a relatively distinctive culture, then all three motions are implied in mobility between classes. Acceptance in a different group, socialization to the norms of that group, and changes in prestige and/or power, however, need not occur at precisely the same time. Indeed, one of the clues to the study of the behavior of mobile persons is afforded by the fact that some time lapse typically occurs between these different changes. That is to say, mobility often produces at least temporarily low status crystallization.

Type VI might best be represented by the enlisted man who is promoted and returned to the same outfit as an officer. *Type V* includes young executives celebrated by Whyte[4] who, on being promoted, are moved to a housing development in a different city much like the one they left behind. Rural-urban migrants, and international migrants who maintain their relative social rank, however, would fall into *Type IV*. *Type III* is exemplified by cases of career mobility in which an entire cohort of men is simultaneously successful. *Type II* might occur when an

entire group which has been isolated from surrounding influences for some time becomes acculturated. *Type I* includes the urban-urban migrants who move between similar social situations without notable promotion or demotion. While any move between groups probably implies some cultural change, such is often minimal. Persons often move between communities such that the general social norms in their social destinations are much the same as those left behind, and only local details must be learned.

The utility of this typology may be tested by examining the existing empirical literature in the light of this classification. It is hoped that the distinctions listed above may help to account for different consequences of different aspects of mobility, once we develop assumptions as to the particular consequences of mobility along each of the three dimensions. No empirical prediction about the consequences of any given movement in social space is possible, of course, without consideration of the social context in which it occurs.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

The implications of social mobility, as those of any social process, depend on the social context: the setting in which the process occurs. Any attempt to show that persons are affected by mobility must take the social context for mobility into account. Societal conditions, for example, may produce characteristics among nonmobile persons that should be expected only among mobile persons. On the other hand, they may so mitigate the special problems associated with social mobility that in adapting to these problems mobile persons need not behave differently from nonmobile persons.

Many social conditions occur immediately to the sociologist as possibly relevant to the consequences of social mobility. Such conditions, for example, as community size, type of economy, degree of urbanization, etc., undoubtedly impose limits on the generality of any statement about the consequences of mobility. In particular, three considerations deserve special emphasis: (1) the rate of mobility in the society, (2) the existence at the societal level of certain social and cultural adaptations to problems associated with the mobility of individuals, and (3) social change that may produce effects in individuals similar to those of mobility.

1. *The Societal Rate of Mobility.* Mobility may affect individuals in two ways. First, a person may be mobile himself, and face certain problems engendered by that mobility. Second, the rate of mobility in a society

may influence all individuals in that society, mobile or not.[5] In a sense, these two aspects of the same process are quite independent; they may have quite different consequences. At the very least, they affect different persons. To examine the consequences of a person's own mobility without considering the fact that he (as well as other members of the same society) may show the effects of the societal mobility rate, would be a mistake.

Similarly, the nature of the mobility rate ought not to be neglected as a limiting condition. First, high rates of mobility between certain specified positions may indicate regular channels of mobility open only to particular segments of the population. If mobility rates differ in different segments of the population, then the concomitants of mobility probably differ as well. Second, it is important to note whether the mobility rate reflects the circulation of individuals among existing positions, the emergence of new positions, or change in the distribution of positions at various levels. Third, the concomitants of mobility probably depend on whether mobility is experienced individually, or as a member of a group.

2. *Social and Cultural Adaptations.* The consequences of mobility on individuals should be minimal in societies that provide social and cultural adaptations to problems associated with mobility. Culture provides ready-made solutions to collective problems. Individual adjustment is facilitated by cultural prescriptions for behavior which solve "typical" problems in advance. Emotions are easier to control if a problem situation is culturally defined, and if defense mechanisms are provided by the culture. Some of the problems of mobility have to do with communication between persons with different class backgrounds. Such communication problems should be reduced in a society where "cultural bridges" between distant social positions exist. The existence of a mass culture, for example, facilitates communication between persons occupying quite different statuses. Certain topics of conversation, such as sports and dirty jokes (among men), are regularly used for this purpose. In addition, problems associated with mobility are mitigated by the existence of institutional mechanisms that legitimately select and prepare individuals for mobility. Educational institutions in the United States, for example, further or block mobility according to a generally accepted procedure, and provide the mobile person with orientations and skills intended to facilitate adjustment in his new position.

3. *Social Change.* From the societal point of view, social mobility is a process: the circulation of individuals among positions may actually serve to perpetuate an existing structure. From the point of view of a family or an individual, on the other hand, social mobility is a change,

culminating in a very different social environment. Social and cultural changes in the society, however, may have essentially the same effect on a family or an individual, namely, the alteration of the social environment. Thus, a rising level of living, an increased literacy rate, diffusion, and many other changes may be experienced by individuals in the same way that individuals experience mobility. Such changes may diminish the difference between the life experiences of mobile and nonmobile persons in a society.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

One of the earliest useful sources of information on the consequences of social mobility is to be found in Durkheim's *Suicide*. Clearly, however, Durkheim's analysis dealt with the implications of the societal rate of mobility as a part of the social context in which individuals interact with one another, develop values, etc., and not with the effects of a person's own mobility. A high rate of mobility was thought to (1) distort the applicability of norms regarding legitimate rewards and (2) isolate individuals from integrated groups. Both effects, as well as a third derivative effect, namely status insecurity, are equally applicable to the mobile and nonmobile members of a mobile society.

This line of reasoning (along with several others) was extended to the consideration of mobile individuals as well as the rate of mobility in a society, in Sorokin's definitive statement, *Social Mobility*. Indeed, by pointing out the many different ways in which mobility could have effects, Sorokin laid the groundwork for the multipliciy of orientations in contemporary mobility research. His formulation of the general problem of mobility suggests studies of the societal rate of mobility, the consequences of mobility for individuals who experience mobility, for those who do not, the effects of different selection procedures, etc., as well as leading to consideration of such diverse dependent variables as attitudes, prejudice, mental illness, membership in formal voluntary associations, family stability, political behavior, and many others. The commonality underlying these varied interests, of course, is Sorokin's conception of "the shifting of individuals in social space." His concern was with social motion in general, and not merely with, e.g., vertical occupational mobility. In the variety of detailed information presently available, it is easy to lose sight of the generality of this conception.

The consequences of different types of mobility may be ordered in this general framework if Sorokin's emphasis on the *mechanisms* through which mobility has consequences is not neglected. In their above-cited

reviews of the empirical mobility literature, Janowitz and Blau have re-affirmed the importance of some of the mechanisms suggested by Sorokin. In particular, both have underlined the importance of social participation as a mechanism in the explanation of the consequences of social mobility. Janowitz has shown that the implications of mobility for participation are different in primary and secondary structures. Blau used assumptions about the consequences of mobility for interpersonal relationships to account for various empirical findings on the correlates of social mobility.

Both Janowitz and Blau, however, were concerned with mobility Type VII (as listed above). The power of their explanatory principles may be greater if applied to mobility in general, rather than limited to the one type in which all three dimensions of mobility are confounded. Movement along each of the three dimensions of social space invokes different mechanisms, so that each type of movement has unique conse-quences. To limit the study of mobility to Type VII, then, confounds three sets of different consequences. Noting the unique contribution of motion along each dimension should increase our understanding of the dynamics of Type VII, as well as extending knowledge of the other types contained in the more general conception of mobility.

Consideration of the possible mechanisms suggests the following as-sumptions regarding the unique effect of movement along each dimension.[6] 1. Mobility between groups means that social participation in one group is discontinued, and that participation in another group is gradually initiated. The consequences of movement between groups, that is, ought to have to do with the correlates of group membership. Thus egoism, presumably a psychological consequence of isolation from a stable net-work of interactions, problems of initiating interaction in a stratum of destination, and different rates of membership, attendance, etc., in various structures, should accompany mobility between groups. 2. Mobility be-tween cultures or subcultures implies the necessity for resocialization. Hence such mobility should be related to anomie, nonconformity through ignorance, problems of resocialization, etc. 3. Changes in prestige or power should result in (a) the experience of reward or deprivation and (b) a change in self-interest. This form of mobility, then, should be related to changes in economic and/or political interest, feelings of status insecurity, etc.

One advantage of this orientation is that data from sources other than studies of vertical occupational mobility, e.g., from the migration litera-ture or from studies of acculturation, may be taken as evidence for some of the assumptions regarding social mobility. In particular, examination of the "pure" types (I, II, and III)—that is, those involving only one

dimension of change—may shed light on the dynamics of more complex cases. Of course only rough comparisons of the three "pure" types can be suggested here: demonstration must rest on variations along one dimension while the others are held constant in some more vigorous sense.

Migration does appear to have the expected temporary effect on social participation. The participation of migrants in various structures is low, on entrance into a community, but rises with time.[7] In combination with migration, culture change apparently has an independent effect on participation. The participation of rural migrants to urban areas is considerably lower than that of urban migrants to urban areas.[8] This determinant of participation, however, is specifically a matter of socialization. Rural migrants do not know and understand urban structures. Together with depressed rates of social participation, they exhibit other characteristics of inadequate acculturation in their social participation: nonconformity, feelings of alienation, and perceptions of anomie in the urban normative order (which may not, in fact, be anomic).

Many of the expected attitudinal concomitants of mobility, such as insecurity, prejudice, striving, achievement orientation, and so on, have not shown strong empirical associations with vertical social mobility (Type VII).[9] But these are the effects to be expected (1) of all persons in a mobile society and (2) in cases of mobility of Type III (involving the vertical dimension only). In fact, the best evidence for the existence of such relationships is to be found in empirical studies closest to this type, e.g., intragenerational mobility.

CONCLUSION

The inconclusive state of current mobility research may result from the fact that most of the existing data has been gathered with respect to the most complex case of mobility. A central problem for future research is how the effects of mobility along different dimensions combine. We have seen that culture change in itself appears to have no implications for social participation, but that in combination with a move between groups, it leads to lower rates of participation. On the other hand, the effects to two processes could be opposite in direction. If, for example, greater prestige and power predispose to overconformity, and problems of resocialization predispose to underconformity through temporary ignorance,[10] the resultant of these two components may be nothing at all: the forces may mask one another. In short, the problem of current mobility research is one of handling the simultaneous action of three different processes.

FOOTNOTES

* The assistance and criticism of the author's colleagues, and in particular those of Theodore R. Anderson, Jack V. Buerkle, and Stanley H. Udy, Jr., are gratefully acknowledged.

[1] Peter M. Blau, "Occupational Mobility and Interpersonal Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 21:290-95; Morris R. Janowitz, "Some Consequences of Social Mobility in the United States," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology* (London: International Sociological Association), 3:191-201; Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility In Industrial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).

[2] Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[4] William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

[5] Cf. S. M. Miller, "The Concept of Mobility," *Social Problems*, 3:65-73.

[6] As stated previously, the consequences of mobility on mobile individuals depend on the social context. Contemporary American society is as mobile as any we know, and provides social and cultural adaptations to mobility, as outlined above. In addition, the level of living has risen. Thus we should expect this orientation to tell us how mobility is related to other variables, but the extent of such relationships should not be expected to be very great in American society.

[7] Cf. Basil G. Zimmer, "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures," *American Sociological Review*, 20:218-24; Alvin H. Scaff, "The Effect of Commuting on Participation in Community Organizations," *ibid.*, 17:217; Joel Smith, William Form, and Gregory Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-Sized City," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX:276-84; Howard Freeman, Edwin Novak, and Leo Reeder, "Correlates of Memberships in Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 22:528-40; Basil Zimmer and Amos Hawley, "The Significance of Membership in Associations," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV:196-201. No relationship is reported in John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 22:315-26; and Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence From National Sample Surveys," *ibid.*, 23:284-94.

[8] In addition to the above, see Basil G. Zimmer, "Farm Background and Urban Participation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI:470-75.

[9] Consider, for example, the strengths of relationships in: Joseph Greenblum and Leonard Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Socio-Psychological Analysis," in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 480-91; Fred B. Silberstein and Melvin Seeman, "Social Mobility and Prejudice," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV:258-64; Raymond W. Mack, Raymond J. Murphy, and Seymour Yellin, "The Protestant Ethic Level of Aspiration, and Social Mobility: An Empirical Test," *American Sociological Review*, 21:295-300.

[10] An upward mobile person, for example, who is motivated to conform to the norms of his stratum of destination by the reward of membership in that stratum may be prevented from doing so by not understanding the norms.

DIMENSIONS OF STATUS CHANGE

ALFRED G. SMITH, SHIRLEY CHAPMAN, AND ALPHA M. BOND
Emory University

ABSTRACT

Status change is here analyzed in multidimensional continua within the synchronic dynamics of a social system. These dimensions are the degree of gain-loss, of achievement-ascription, and of status-set gain-loss. Such a paradigm is needed for studying the status changes involved in maturation and similar processes, for comparing such processes cross-culturally, and for relating synchronic changes to diachronic ones.

Social dynamics can be described in two different but related ways. Dynamics can be diachronic, which denotes the manner in which a structure changes over a period of time. Dynamics can also be synchronic, which denotes the manner in which a structure works at a given point in time. Both kinds of dynamics are equally related to social structure.

Social structure includes a network of statuses, and these statuses change. Sometimes they change diachronically, as in their birth and death. In our age, for example, the spaceman was born and the cavalryman died. These statuses appeared and disappeared as the structure of our society changed in time. Sometimes statuses change synchronically as a part of the operations of the social structure at any one time, as, for example, when a bachelor becomes a married man.

Most studies of social structure refer to only one type of status change, the synchronic gain of status. They regard this particular kind of change to be either achieved or ascribed.[1] This has led to at least four over-simplifications: that statuses are only gained; that there are only two kinds of statuses, achieved and ascribed; that there is a clear distinction between these two kinds of status; and that any one status is a discrete entity.

It is quite obvious, however, that statuses not only are gained but are also lost, transformed, and displaced. These changes occur not only through achievement or ascription but also in many other ways. Moreover, statuses are not discrete positions, but are interrelated parts of patterns and status-sets.[2] These patterns also change through various kinds of gains, losses, transformations, and displacements, and they change synchronically as well as diachronically.

Traditional oversimplifications have impeded at least three different kinds of analysis. They have impeded the recognition of the synchronic status changes that are part of such processes as maturation and aging. This has also impeded cross-cultural comparisons. A comparison of the

maturation process in Japan with that in the United States is beyond the scope of such limited concepts as achieved and ascribed status when the several dimensions of status change are not recognized. Finally, these oversimplifications have impeded the recognition of the relationships between the synchronic and diachronic dynamics of a society. The way a social structure works at a given point in time largely determines how it changes over a period of time. Thus, if army generals often become corporation presidents, the status of general and even of corporation president may change diachronically.

This paper presents a multidimensional paradigm of status change within the synchronic dynamics of a social system. It regards the dimensions of status change as continua. Thus it does not divide the continuum of status gain into discrete compartments such as achieved and ascribed.

Distinctions within continua are sometimes useful. Chemistry divides particles in a liquid into dispersions, colloids, and precipitates. It divides them by particle size and by such tests as the Tyndall effect, Brownian movement, and filtration. Despite these distinctions, the types of particles do overlap. Some colloids resemble dispersions in the filtration test, and some precipitates contain smaller particles than do some of the colloids.

The lines of demarcation in the social status continuum between achievement and ascription are even less distinct. In the United States a professorship is an achieved status. The process of getting an education and an appointment is competitive and requires ability; but a professorship is not simply an achieved position. A professor may come from a family that valued education highly and was able to send him to college. Thus the professorship may be both ascribed and achieved. Some statuses may be more achieved and less ascribed, but elements of both are usually present. The achieved-ascribed continuum is one dimension of change.

A second dimension of change is that of status gain-loss. Here again statuses range in a continuum. Change in a status may be more in the direction of gain than in the direction of loss, but some element of both is always present. A man committed to prison loses one status and gains another. He has been separated from society and has experienced some loss of status, but he gains a new prisoner in-group status, so that both loss and gain are present. It may seem that it is not one status that gains and loses, but that one status gains and that a second one loses. Such a conception, however, would regard each status as a discrete position, and that is an oversimplification.

A third dimension of status change involves the complement of social statuses of an individual, which Merton calls the status-set.[3] This is a complex of distinct positions held by an individual within and among

social systems. The status-set is a part of the social structure for an individual at a particular time. Individuals within a group differ in the number and interrelations of statuses comprising their status-sets, and these status-sets change.

Status-set is in part the weighted arithmetical mean of all the status positions of a given individual. Therefore, the addition of new statuses, the loss of old ones, and changes in their characteristics all change the status-set.

Thus this third dimension of status change is representative of the changes within the status-set. Certain status changes have very little effect on the status-set; other changes have a large effect. If the change is socially accepted, its influence on the position of the status-set is generally quite different from that of a socially disapproved one. A status change, therefore, has greatest influence on the position of the status-set when the status change is large, when the number of statuses within the status-set is small, and when the changed status is central to the status-set. In American middle-class society occupation is central to an individual's over-all status situation.[4] If two men leave comparable jobs, the one who is also a civic leader and active in social affairs and other enterprises, exhibits less status-set loss than the one who is not engaged in nonjob activities. Moreover, a man's complex of distinct social positions in the American social system is more affected by being hired or fired than by an increase or decrease in salary. Therefore, the degree of change, the condition of the status-set, the importance of the changed status, and the mechanism that brought about the change are all dimensions of the status change.

These three dimensions of status change—the degree of status gain-loss, the degree of status achievement-ascription, and the degree of status-set gain-loss—can be conceptualized from varying perspectives. They may be seen from a point in space outside the system, which is commonly the point of view of the sociological observer, or from a point of view from the center of the system. From a point outside the system the result of one status change is a point on a two-dimensional figure. The effect of status change on the status-set, however, is a point on a three-dimensional figure. The results of a status change and a status-set change are the algebraic sum within each of the three dimensions. In other words, the algebraic sum of what was gained and what was lost in the status change will determine one dimension; the algebraic sum of what was achieved and ascribed in the status change will determine a second dimension; and the algebraic sum of what was gained and lost in the status-set change will determine a third dimension. At present we cannot measure such

algebraic sums. We can only judge or estimate them. But before we can pursue accuracy, we must refine our concepts.

If an individual's status has changed largely through achievement with gain and loss equal to each other, he has substituted an equivalent new status for the old one. He may be an army general who retires and is selected to become the president of a corporation. Another individual's status may change through a large loss that is equally due to achievement and ascription. He may be a prominent businessman who enlists in the army as a private for patriotic reasons during a wartime. Some change has taken place for both of these individuals, but the nature of the change is different in the two cases. One is horizontal, and the other is vertical.

We can now consider a third individual, one who has a large status gain that is much more ascribed than achieved. A Negro doctor moving from Ghana to the United States, for example, would gain the ascribed status of a minority group member. Naturally, this can also be regarded as a loss of status, but this kind of ambiguity indicates the need to go beyond two-dimensional analyses.

When we add a third dimension, the doctor from Ghana who had the large ascribed gain suffers a status-set loss by moving into a new social system. We cannot regard status-set apart from specific social systems. Whether the doctor gains a minority group status or loses a majority one, his status-set in America is lower in either case. Similarly, an individual who has a large status gain, somewhat more achieved than ascribed, may have come from extreme poverty and gained the achieved status of a wealthy gangster. His achieved status gain as a rich gangster results in a status-set drop in the over-all American social system, and a status-set gain in the underworld subsystem of the larger social system. To repeat, we cannot regard status-set apart from specific social systems. A status loss that is more achieved than ascribed can also entail a gain in status-set. Thus, an individual who has achieved an early release from prison and has not yet taken on any new statuses has achieved the loss of the prisoner status; and even though he has not taken on any others, he has experienced a status-set gain, for he is no longer in prison.

This multidimensional concept of status avoids the fallacies and limitations of a bipolar one-dimensional analysis. It yields new and broader perspectives. The three dimensions analyzed above—the degree of status gain-loss, the degree of status achievement-ascription, and the degree of status-set gain-loss—are continua. Thus a status is neither achieved nor ascribed, it is some of both along one dimension. Nor is a status either gained or lost, there are elements of both gain and loss in any change of status. And in status-set the relations among different statuses at a given time also change.

All of these changes are a part of the synchronic dynamics of a social system. Different social systems, such as those of Japan and the United States, have different synchronic dynamics. To compare these systems, we need dimensions of analysis like those presented here. We must first analyze a system's synchronic dynamics, before we can analyze its diachronic changes. The kinds of status changes that were a part of the synchronic dynamics of the social system in the United States in 1920 largely determined the diachronic changes that took place in this system in the following decades.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Cf.* Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936), pp. 115ff; and most subsequent textbooks.
[2] R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 380ff.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] E. T. Hiller, *Social Relations and Structure* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), chapters 22-38.

PROBLEMS OF A RELIGIOUSLY
PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

JOHN W. DYKSTRA
Jersey City State College

ABSTRACT

The religiously pluralistic society contains dysfunctional elements not present in a society with a single religion. Antagonisms develop over the recognition given the different religions; the stability of marriage is lessened by the stresses inherent in interfaith unions; and the choice of political leaders is affected by irrelevant religious considerations. Religious friction will continue as the churches strive for different social objectives.

One of the unique features of the American nation that came into being in 1789 was its disavowal of the premise that needed societal cohesion could be obtained only through religious homogeneity. With the later adoption of the first amendment to the constitution, stipulating that "congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ," the commitment became more explicit. Time has proved that a national sentiment could develop which embraced persons of many faiths, and that national unity does not demand the welding together of a people into a common religious outlook.

Contemporary sociologists are, in general, inclined to consider cultural pluralism as a source of strength for American society. They have commented mostly on the great benefits arising from the fruitful interchange of ideas among our diverse subcultures. Louis Wirth, for example, observes that "cultural pluralism has been held out as one of the necessary preconditions of a rich and dynamic civilization under conditions of freedom."

This feeling is not shared by some leaders in the religious realm, however. Father L. C. McHugh in a recent article in the Jesuit periodical *America* refers to religious pluralism as a "pathological condition of society—it presupposes widespread error in the very area where, above all, men should be one—the area of basic truths about God, man, and society."[1]

The generally successful amalgamation of unlike religious groups into a nation has not obscured the fact that a religiously heterogeneous land must cope with problems that do not beset those countries with a single religion. As the diversity of religious outlooks becomes greater, these difficulties loom larger.

To the extent that the United States experiences internal friction and segmentation because of nationality differences, it can reasonably be expected that time will offer relief. Our religious diversity is a different

matter, however. Newcomers do not aspire to assimilate into any dominant group faith. Religiously America will continue to be a mosaic.

The ideal of remaining equally considerate of the religion of all groups has, in practice, been impossible to attain. The very scheduling of the work week of the land has taken cognizance of the Sabbath of some, and ignored that of others. The religious holidays upon which the public schools are closed are, with few exceptions, those recognized by the dominant religious group.

Showing no religious favoritism could, in a highly heterogeneous city, make the effective operation of schools or businesses an impossibility. Should a school system or firm be composed of equal parts Roman Catholic, Jewish, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant students—a not impossible situation in some of our more polyglot metropolises—the infeasibility of suspending activities in observance of the holidays of each religion is apparent. Had our immigration been even more diversified than it has been, with a larger influx of Taoists, Moslems, and Hindus, the implementation of a policy of equal consideration for all faiths would have presented even more of a challenge.

Over the years varying amounts of sectarian religious content have made their way into the public schools, through opening prayers, Bible readings, and school presentations in observance of religious holidays. So long as a community remains relatively homogeneous in religion, such intrusions tend not to evoke protests. As new religious groups move into an area, however, there is increased likelihood that there will be objections on the grounds that the separation of church and state principle has been violated.

The dispersal of Jews from their original areas of settlement in the cities to suburban communities has undoubtedly been one major factor in the increasing number of actions seeking to terminate such practices.[2] In recent years hardly a Christmas has passed without some well-publicized challenges of the propriety of setting up a creche on public school property, or of presenting a Nativity drama as part of a public school program. Since the ensuing controversy may exacerbate Jewish-Christian relations, in spite of the soundness of the objections, the Jewish citizen must decide in a particular situation whether the abuse involved is great enough to warrant a protest. The partisan nature of the litigation is sometimes lessened by enrolling Christians with similar views to join the Jewish protestants.

The very absence of great social distance separating the different religious groups—a general source of pride—has been productive of difficulties of a very different sort. Given the extent of social intermixing

that occurs involving young people of diverse religious background, it is not surprising that a high incidence of interfaith marriages results. Roman Catholic outmarriages, for example, have been found to constitute about one third of all Catholic marriages in recent years.[3] In some dioceses more than one half of all Catholic marriages are outmarriages.

There is also evidence that the religious differences which appeared so unimportant to the broad-minded American couple prior to marriage loom as a much more troublesome element afterward. The greater fragility of the religiously mixed marriage has been documented in many studies. In Judson T. Landis' study of Michigan State students, for one, it was found that of those students who reported both parents Catholic only 4.4 per cent said that their parents were divorced; 6.0 per cent of those who reported both parents Protestant had divorced parents; while 14.1 per cent of the students born of mixed Protestant-Catholic marriages indicated that their parents had been divorced.[4] James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll present additional evidence of the problems of mixed marriages in their book, *One Marriage, Two Faiths*.[5] The frequency of interfaith marriages in the United States would thus seem to be one of the factors contributing to what many observers consider a dangerously high incidence of divorce in American society.

In part as a reaction to this state of affairs, religious leaders have been placing greater stress in their teaching upon the undesirability of marriages outside the religious group. An occasional spokesman has openly advocated that social relationships of all types be confined to members of one's own faith.[6] Of long standing, of course, are the conditions attached to outmarriages by some religions that seem intolerable to many outsiders.

Serving to reduce the incidence of intermarriage, as well as to heighten the individual's identification with his religious group, has been the growing development of parallel social structures for the major religious denominations. Basic is the religious school system, which has shown a vigorous growth in the past decade. In addition to a school experience that involves contacts only with members of one's own faith, increasing numbers of American young people now belong to Boy and Girl Scout Troops, athletic clubs, and a variety of other organizations with a religiously homogeneous clientele. Adults also find a comprehensive array of organizations, ranging from shuffleboard leagues to professional organizations to veterans' groups, designed expressly for members of their faith.

While a decline in interfaith marriages may result from this trend, and some of the values stressed by the religious denominations be more

effectively preserved, the greater social isolation may also serve to aggravate intergroup hostilities. Sociological research has shown the vital importance of primary group relationships in dispelling unfavorable attitudes toward outgroup members. Religious leaders desire intergroup harmony, but strengthening the faith must remain their pre-eminent consideration.

A third type of difficulty which the multireligious democratic society must contend with is in the nature of an obstacle to the implementation of the democratic ideal All too often the usually extraneous consideration of religion will enter into the selection of officials whether elected or appointed. In many religiously mixed communities an unofficial but nevertheless inflexible formula exists to control appointments, so that considerations of ability are subordinated to the maintenance of religious "balance." School boards in large cities provide some of the most conspicuous illustrations of this phenomenon.

The preoccupation of the party organization with obtaining a slate of candidates that is religiously "balanced" is also well known. To secure such balance, it is often necessary to dig regrettably deep into the bin.

There seems to be considerable evidence that this concern of the professional politicians is based upon sound assumptions concerning voting propensities. Significant portions of the electorate are, other things being equal, attracted to candidates of their own faith.[7] Obviously the implementation of the democratic ideal, the selection of the best-qualified candidate for each elective office, is obstructed by this tendency.

The continuance of some interreligious friction seems inevitable in the functioning of our democratic government. Despite broad areas of concurrence, America's religious groups do differ on many significant issues, and harbor varying conceptions of the good society. Many other interest groups, it is true, cut across the religious divisions, but it is the religious ones that are highly charged with emotional content.

The facile separation of religious and secular realms suggested by the "Render unto Caesar" passage is, of course, an impossibility. Scarcely any political issue is devoid of a moral content. And many areas of legislative concern, such as education, marriage and divorce, church and state relationships, and censorship, involve matters about which religions differ. Whether or not American foreign aid programs should be concerned with population limitation is one of the more recent issues in which there is a strong religious involvement.

To some degree it is the relative ineffectiveness of the religious leadership's control over the behavior of the lay membership that leads to attempts to use the power of the state for coercive ends. The admonition

of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to the faithful to refrain from seeing certain films seems to be quite ineffective. Although the evidence is not conclusive, there is some reason to believe that the opposite effect may result. Thus the state is looked to as an instrument for ensuring compliance with the standards of one religion. Since religious groups not sharing Roman Catholic views of propriety can be expected to continue to resist such efforts as censorship, an end to this friction seems not to be in sight.

In many jurisdictions conflict has arisen because of comparable Protestant efforts to secure a desired kind of observance of their Sabbath. Catholics and Jews, as well as dissident Protestants, have fought, with varying degrees of success, these efforts to impose the religious views of one group upon those of contrary beliefs. The acrimony that these controversies generate is predictable, given the involvement of religious sensitivities.

No matter how much "good will" is brought to bear, the fact remains that aims to which one group is dedicated are sometimes offensive to the members of another. The saving of souls is a sacred obligation to many evangelical denominations; the objects of this attention often resent the efforts. A group that may itself proselytize extensively is critical when it is a subject of proselytization.

American students of intergroup behavior have been inclined to center attention upon the irrational elements in intergroup hostility. It often seems implied in their writings that, if the irrational hostility which we label "prejudice" could be eliminated from the human relations scene, a millenium of amity would be brought into being. Enticing though the vision is, the hard fact remains that religious denominations do have real differences which are regarded by these groups as of vital significance. There will continue to be areas in which the groups will find themselves in varying degrees of conflict.

The United States as a pluralistic society must be prepared to accept this internal rivalry as a normal state of affairs. Efforts should be made, of course, to confine the conflict to areas where real differences actually exist, and to help keep these differences in realistic perspective. Parliamentary procedures should, of course, be considered the only appropriate way of resolving the differences. But a price has been and will continue to be paid for the luxury of religiously pluralistic society.

FOOTNOTES

[1] "Working Definitions"; Part I of "Our Post Protestant Pluralism," *America*, CIII:673.

[2] See article by Benjamin Fine, "Bias Rise Plagues Schools in State," *New York Times*, CVI:67.

[3] John L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, XVI:487-91.

[4] "Marriages of Mixed and Non-mixed Religious Faith," *ibid.*, XIV:401-06.

[5] The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1957.

[6] See *The Commonweal*, LXXII:363.

[7] See the analyses of elections by Samuel Lubell in *The Future of American Politics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951).

THE PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL CLASS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS

THOMAS E. LASSWELL
University of Southern California

PETER F. PARSHALL
University of Minnesota

ABSTRACT

The consistency of assignments of social class to persons shown in photographs was examined. Separate judgments were obtained for heads, headless clothed bodies, and total configurations of twelve selected persons. Each set showed consistent ratings, a finding that was interpreted as supporting the existence of mass stereotypes; but the correlations between sets showed that body and clothing clues are probably more potent operators in the assignment of social class than are facial clues.

The general theoretical orientation underlying this study is that social class status may be assigned to a person either (1) on the basis of enduring association with him and with other mutual associates, or (2) on the basis of perceptual sets or stereotypes.[7,10] In the latter case, social class status, an abstract quality, is perceived by means of symbols.[3,8] This experiment is one in a series designed to discover the pervasiveness and effectiveness of mass stereotypes—as distinguished from group stereotypes or interactional factors—in the assessment of social class status of persons.[9]

The particular experiment reported here was designed to determine the extent to which reliable judgments of social class could be made from photographs. There have been numerous other studies of perception of a variety of characteristics from photographs.[2,4,6,11,14,15,16,17,18] It was believed that if such reliable judgments were found they would constitute evidence that mass stereotypes of social classes exist, and that these stereotypes may be elicited by visual stimuli. Since the experiment was not intended to investigate the validity of the judgments made, no measures of validity were incorporated into the design. Neither was this experiment intended to investigate specific cues used for making social class judgments other than as incorporated into the *Gestalt* of each photograph.

The working hypotheses for the experiment were:

(1) That a sample of raters will make consistent judgments of the social classes of a number of men shown in photographs.

(2) That a sample of raters will make consistent judgments of the social classes of a number of men whose heads only are shown in photographs.

(3) That a sample of raters will make consistent judgments of the social classes of a number of men whose clothed bodies (with heads not shown) are shown in photographs.

(4) That the social class judgments made by a sample of raters of photographs of men's heads will be consistent with similar judgments of the bodies and the full configurations of those men made by another sample, and that the judgments of the bodies will be consistent with the judgments of the full configurations.

PROCEDURE

Instrument. For carrying out this experiment, twelve black-and-white photographs of men were selected. The men shown ranged from approximately twenty-five to approximately sixty-five years of age. Their clothing varied from blue jeans (on a man holding a catch of fish) through slacks and open-collared shirts to suits with white shirts and ties. No uniforms or other clothing especially symbolic of occupation were included. None of the men were notably obese or gaunt, outside the normal range of height or Caucasian skin shades, or beyond any other normal range in appearance that was noted by the coauthors and the professional photographer with whom they worked, or was commented upon by the subjects. None were bald, none wore mustaches or any sort of beards, none wore hearing aids, none displayed any badges, pins, keys, or fraternal rings. The coauthors and the photographer tried to limit their selection to "majority group" persons, and no comment about ethnicity was made by the subjects.

Two prints were made of each photograph, with care being taken to enlarge each so that all of the men appeared to be approximately the same height—about six inches in the photographs. Physiognomic features were clearly visible, and each person was photographed full-face. Since context has been shown to affect judgments of persons in photographs,[13] vignettes of the men were cut from the pictures to eliminate cues that might be picked up from the background. In one print of each photograph, the head was cut from the body and the two parts mounted separately. All photographs were then mounted individually on gray-green cardboard and completely encased in plastic in the effort to minimize any possible subliminal effects that might be produced by wear and tear on the photographs or their backing.

The purpose of cutting the head from the body and mounting them separately for one print of each of the photographs was to enable separate judgments of each segment as well as of the complete configura-

tion. Given the photographs of heads alone, the subject would be limited in making his judgments to cues from physiognomy, head proportions, grooming of hair, and facial expressions. Given pictures without heads, the subject would be limited to cues from posture, clothing, body morphology, and hands in making his judgments. In this way it was made possible to obtain three separate judgments of the social class of each man photographed. If the estimates of the social class of one person based on a partial photograph of him were considerably nearer to the estimates based on a complete photograph than were those of the complementary partial photograph, it would suggest that the first partial photograph furnished more effective cues in making the complete judgment. Thus, if the social class accorded the body was close to the social class accorded the complete configuration while the social class accorded the head was quite disparate, it would be considered that the posture-clothing complex afforded the stronger cues for rating the entire configuration.

Subjects. A planned random sample of 102 subjects was drawn from the student body of Grinnell College for interviewing. Eight of these subjects were discarded. Six foreign students were discarded because of the dubious meaning of mass stereotypes in their instances. Two other subjects were discarded after interviewing because of the incongruity of their terminology with that of the rest of the sample. The remaining ninety-four subjects were in two subsamples of forty-seven each. To avoid recognition of partial photographs from the complete photograph, it was arranged that one sample rated the heads and bodies of six of the photographs and the complete configuration of the other six. Six of the complete photographs, the six photographs of the same heads, and the six photographs of the same bodies were called Set I. The other six complete photographs and their respective components were called Set II.

Gathering Data. The interviews were conducted individually. The pictures were handed to the subjects one at a time in a prearranged order, and each picture was taken back as the next one was given. This was to minimize the likelihood of ranking the pictures with respect to the set instead of comparing them to the general stereotypes of social class. All six of the complete photographs in the set were shown to each subject first, then the six heads of the second set, then the six bodies of the second set. Subjects were asked to name the social class of the person shown without being given a definition or example of social class and without being given any specific number of classes or class names. When occupations were volunteered, as often happened, the subject was queried as to how he would rank such a person in that occupation socially. In

most cases, once the subject understood what types of designations were indicated by social class, the interviewing proceeded rapidly.

Scoring. In order to organize the data received into some commensurable form, a nine-point scale was set up by dividing the upper, middle, and lower classes into three parts, labeling them upper-upper, middle-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, etc. There was little difficulty encountered in fitting the data to this scale, since almost all of the ratings were given in terminology involving this system. "Upper class" was placed in "middle-upper," for example, and "below average but not lower class" was placed in "lower-middle." The designation "working class" was used nineteen times (.011 of the ratings). Where possible, the subject was asked to discuss "working class" so that an approximation of it could be had in terms of upper, middle, or lower class. When no such approximation was made, these ratings were placed in the lower-middle category.[19] This procedure permitted the establishment of equivalence categories on an ordered scale without involving any metric assumption, a troublesome point in many studies of social class.[8,12]

Measurement. The classes were then numbered from one to nine, starting with upper-upper as one, and frequency distribution charts were set up for each photograph. Rank correlations were computed between the ratings of complete persons and bodies, complete persons and heads, and heads and bodies. Rank correlations were also computed for the ratings given by men as compared to those given by women. In each case, the Spearman rho was used. As a measure of dispersion, the semi-interquartile range, also a nonparametric device, was computed for the ratings of each picture.

TABLE I

CORRELATIONS OF MEN'S AND WOMEN'S RATINGS
OF SOCIAL CLASS OF PERSONS SHOWN IN PHOTOGRAPHS

	Spearman Rho Correlations		
	Heads Only	Clothed Bodies	Complete Photographs
Set I	.886**	.371***	1.000*
Set II	.829**	.943**	.771

* P < .01

** P < .05

*** Much of this lack of correlation appeared to be due to masculine-feminine differences in the rating of the decapitated fisherman.

FINDINGS

Ordered scales for each set of photographs were immediately apparent from inspection of the tabulated responses. The ratings made by men and those made by women were all positively correlated, as is shown in Table I. This was taken as evidence of the presence of mass stereotypes of social class with many common elements. When ratings of heads by the total sample are compared with ratings of clothed bodies, as is seen in Table II, the correlations are near zero, showing that stereotypes of physiognomies and stereotypes of clothed bodies are not congruous for these pictures.

TABLE II

INTERCORRELATIONS OF RATINGS OF SOCIAL CLASS BASED
ON PARTIAL AND COMPLETE PHOTOGRAPHS OF PERSONS

| | Spearman Rho Correlations | | | | | |
| | Head x Body | | Head x Complete | | Body x Complete | |
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Set I	-.086	-.143	.429	.029	.886*	.657
Set II	-.143	.086	.257	.543	.771**	.771**

* P = .03
** P = .07

Comparing the ratings of complete photographs to heads yields low positive correlations, while the correlations between ratings of clothed bodies and ratings of complete photographs are substantially higher.

It is seen, then, that a man's picture with his face showing tends to get about the same rating as his picture with his face removed, demonstrating that some or all of the common features—posture, hands, body morphology, and clothing—enter strongly into the evaluation of both of them. The amount of emphasis placed on either of these factors cannot be determined from the data gathered here, partly because an attempt was made to control ranges of several variables as noted earlier, i.e., height, weight, coloring, etc. Subjects were asked at the end of their interviews what factors had affected their judgments. References to clothing and accessories outweighed all others, but posture and hands

were also considered rather important, being mentioned in about one fourth of the cases. Clothing has been found to be an important factor in social ratings in other studies.[1,5] Other factors mentioned frequently were grooming of hair, expression, and skin texture. It has been noted, however, that the items mentioned are not always consistent with the subjects' choices—whether stated items are drawn from the actual photographs or from the subjects' stereotypes elicited by them, perhaps triggered by a subliminal cue. This inconsistency is a point for further study.

Heads and complete persons exhibit much lower correlations in every instance than do bodies and complete persons. This suggests that the shape of the head, grooming of the hair, facial features, and expression are not very effective factors in the judgment of social class from photographs if the body and clothing are present.

Judgments of heads and bodies separately show no tendency toward correlation, indicating that physiognomy-head features give no valid clue to clothing-posture configurations or vice-versa.

Semi-interquartile ranges for the judgments of the subjects are shown in Table III. With the middle quarter of the ratings falling in each

TABLE III

DISPERSION OF RATINGS

| | Semi-interquartile Ranges* | | |
	Heads Only	Clothed Bodies	Complete Photographs
Set I	.83	1.12	.75
Set II	1.00	.71	.75

* Computed on a range of 9.00

case except one within limits of one class interval on a scale of nine intervals, the assignments are judged by the authors to be consistent in every case, considering especially the open-ended nature of the interview questions. The subjects seemed to feel that the photographs of complete persons were easier to rate than partial photographs, but the results do not show much more consistency.

The first three hypotheses are supported by the findings shown in Table I and Table III. The fourth hypothesis is not supported as it stands. Table II shows that there is probably a relationship between

judgments of total configurations and judgments of the clothing-body-posture complex. It also shows that there is probably no relationship between judgments of bodies and judgments of heads.

SUMMARY

In this study, ninety-four college students were asked to designate the social classes of twelve men shown to them in individual photographs. The photographs were so arranged that a separate rating was obtained for the head, the clothed body, and the complete photograph of each man. These ratings were then compared.

From the analysis of the data obtained it was determined that (1) the judgments of social class from the bodies corresponded more closely to the ratings given the complete photographs than did those from the heads, indicating that probably the whole person is judged more by some elements from the clothes-posture-body morphology-hands complex than by elements from the head-face expression complex; (2) the judgments of the social class of heads differed widely from those of bodies while separate consistency was shown for the two sets of judgments, leading to the supposition that there are two entirely different sets of stereotypes for evaluating social class from heads and from bodies; and (3) the existence of social class stereotypes which can be elicited from photographs seems to be indicated.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Bernard Barber and L. S. Lobel, " 'Fashion' in Women's Clothes and the American Social System," *Social Forces*, 31:124-31.

[2] William Bevan, P. F. Secord, and J. N. Richards, "Personalities in Faces: V. Personal Identification and the Judgment of Facial Characteristics," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 44:289-91.

[3] Jerome S. Bruner and R. Tagiuri, "The Perception of People," in G. Lindzey (Ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison Wesley Press, 1954), Vol. 2, pp. 634-54.

[4] Wayman J. Crow and K. R. Hammond, "The Generality of Accuracy and Response Sets in Interpersonal Perception," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 54:384-90.

[5] Thomas Ford Hoult, "Experimental Measurement of Clothing as a Factor in Some Social Ratings of Selected American Men," *American Sociological Review*, 19:324-28.

[6] William Kessen, "The Role of Experience in Judging Children's Photographs," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 54:375-79.

[7] Thomas E. Lasswell, "Orientations Toward Social Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, 65:585-87.

[8] Lasswell, "The Perception of Social Status," *Sociology and Social Research*, 45:170-74.

[9] Lasswell, "Social Class and Stereotyping," *ibid.*, 42:256-62.

[10] Alfred McClung Lee, "Attitudinal Multivalence in Relation to Culture and Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60:294-99.

[11] Donald J. Mason, "Judgments of Leadership Based upon Physiognomic Clues," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 54:273-74.

[12] Harold A. Nelson, and T. E. Lasswell, "Status Indices, Social Stratification, and Social Class," *Sociology and Social Research*, 44:410-13.

[13] Alice B. Riddleberger and A. B. Motz, "Prejudice and Perception," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62:498-503.

[14] Paul F. Secord, "Stereotyping and Favorableness in the Perception of Negro Faces," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 59:309-14.

[15] Paul F. Secord and W. Bevan, "Personalities in Faces: III. A Cross-cultural Comparison of Impressions of Physiognomy and Personality in Faces," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 43:283-88.

[16] Paul F. Secord, W. Bevan, Jr., and W. F. Dukes, "Occupational and Physiognomic Stereotypes in the Perception of Photographs," *ibid.*, 37:261-70.

[17] Secord, Dukes, and Bevan, "Personalities in Faces: I. An Experiment in Social Perceiving," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 49:231-79.

[18] Paul F. Secord and J. E. Muthard, "Personalities in Faces: IV. A Descriptive Analysis of the Perception of Women's Faces and the Identification of Some Physiognomic Determinants," *The Journal of Psychology*, 39:269-78.

[19] At the suggestion of one critic, all of the statistics cited were recalculated with these "working-class" ratings discarded, but no important changes resulted.

SOCIOLOGY IN BURMA

GEORGE A. THEODORSON[*]
The Pennsylvania State University

U MAUNG MAUNG SEIN AND DAW KHIN MAR MAR
University of Rangoon

ABSTRACT

Sociology is emerging in Burma as affected by the various characteristics of Burmese society, by British influences from colonial days, by British sociology, by American sociology to an increasing degree, and by visiting American sociological scholars.

Sociology is a new discipline in Burma. It was in 1952 that the first courses in sociology, General Sociology and Criminology, were introduced at the University of Rangoon by Dr. Htin Aung, the then Rector of the University. By 1957 a full four-year program had been developed in sociology. Today the University of Rangoon is the only school in Burma where a full program of sociology is offered.

The University of Rangoon, like all higher education in Burma, is controlled by the national government. It is an amalgamation of the nationalized Judson College (formerly American Baptist), the nationalized College of Engineering (formerly endowed and supported by the Burmah Oil Company), and the University College (formerly Rangoon College). It is located about five and a half miles from the center of the city on 35 acres of land, and has about 10,000 students, of whom approximately 70 per cent are men. Sociology is at the present time a part of the Department of Anthropology, which in turn is a division of the Faculty of the Social Sciences (similar to the American "College"), which is housed in a large newly built, four-story structure.

Dr. Htin Aung, who introduced the first courses in sociology, received his education at Rangoon, London, Dublin, and Cambridge universities. He is now Ambassador to Ceylon, and presently in charge of the sociology program is U Maung Maung Sein, who received a Bachelor's degree in 1951 from the University of Rangoon and two Bachelor of Science degrees (in sociology and economics) in 1956 from the University of London, and who has had one year of further study in archaeology at Cambridge University in England. He is the only Burmese sociologist who holds the rank of lecturer. There are two assistant lecturers in sociology and five tutors (teaching assistants). The members of the Sociology Department are all young, and very close in age, with the oldest only thirty-seven. The Department, in fact, exhibits the intimacy of a rather cohesive small group.

There are no undergraduate "sociology majors" at the University of Rangoon. A student majors in social science, and sociology may be taken as part of the social science requirements. Approximately four hundred students are presently enrolled in sociology courses. Throughout the four-year undergraduate program[1] the student has three hours of sociology each semester. In the first year the topics covered include social groups, social relations, social change, and international society and in the second year, power and authority. The third year covers marriage and family living, social stratification, and criminology and the fourth year, social welfare and religion and society. In order to major in sociology one must continue for a fifth year and obtain an Honors degree. To graduate with honors in sociology one must sit for four papers (examinations) in sociology, two in anthropology, and one in English composition. A thesis in sociology must also be submitted. The five papers in sociology deal with the following topics: theory and methods, social institutions, social philosophy, social administration, and social work. The completion of an Honors degree precedes work toward a Master's degree. The Master's degree program can be completed in a minimum of two years. The candidate in his first year must pass five advanced courses in the same topic areas as for the Honors degree. By the end of his second year he must finish a reading list and sit for an examination on each of the five topics. He must then submit and defend his Master's thesis.

The first B.A. Honors degree in sociology was awarded to Daw Saw Hla Khin in 1954, who later received a Master's degree in sociology at Cornell University in 1958. In 1956 B.A. Honors degrees were awarded to U Tin Ohn, who became an immigration officer, and U Kyaw Shein, who subsequently left the field of sociology to specialize in Far Eastern history. In 1958 Daw Khin Mar Mar received her B.A. Honors degree, and is now a lecturing tutor and a candidate for the M.A. degree.

Research in the Department has been confined of necessity to Honors and Master's dissertations because of a lack of funds, teaching staff, and research facilities. The choice of dissertation topics tends to reflect the dominant concerns and identifications of the Burmese scholar, and also reflects the racial, religious, and cultural heterogeneity of the nation: "The Burmese System of Kinship and Marriage" (U Maung Maung Sein, Bachelor's, University of London, 1956), "The Position of Women in Burma" (Daw Saw Hla Khin, Master's, Cornell University, 1957); and at the University of Rangoon: "Kinship Terminology of the Burmese, Karens, Chins, and Kachins" (Daw Khin Mar Mar, Honors, 1958), "How Moslem are the Burmese Moslems?" (Daw Khin Khin

Su, Master's, in progress), "Chinese Customs Retained in the Sino-Burmese Family" (Daw Kyi Kyi, Honors, in progress), "A Brief History of the Roman Catholic Missions in Burma" (Miss Margaret Noor, Honors, in progress). The theses in anthropology include: "Spirit Worship Among the Primitive Karens" (Wallace Kangyi, 1955), "Customs and Traditions of the Primitive Karens" (Wallace Kangyi, 1957), "The Burmese Pagoda Slaves During the Pagan Period" (U Sein Tun, in progress). At present there are relatively few outlets for sociological research in Burma. The *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, founded in 1910, and which appears twice a year, is the major outlet, but because it publishes research from all of the academic disciplines it will be a very meager outlet for future sociological writing. In the past some thesis research has been published in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*. The Union of Burma government from time to time also publishes research studies of possible sociological interest, such as the recent reports of the Mass Education Program.

We may expect to see an expansion of sociology in Burma in the future, although temporary setbacks may occur. It is planned, as a sufficient number of trained persons become available, to establish departments of Sociology at the University of Mandalay, the four additional senior colleges scattered throughout the Union, the branch colleges, and the teachers' training colleges. As sociology grows and develops in Burma, the form it will take will be determined in large measure by certain factors now influencing the emerging discipline. The remainder of this paper will, therefore, be devoted to an examination of these critical influences.

INFLUENCES AFFECTING AN EMERGING SOCIOLOGY

British Influence. The more than sixty years during which Burma was a British colony have naturally left their impact on Burmese society in general, and on the University in particular. The most obvious influence is the use of the English language, which until 1959 was the only language of university instruction in Burma, outside of the Burmese Language Department. Emphasis has been on a complete mastery of English, rather than on a partial familiarity with several European languages. This has led to the pre-eminent influence of British and American thought on sociology in Burma.

Up to the present time British influence has been stronger than American influence on the development of sociology in Burma. This may be in part attributed to the very high prestige of England in the eyes of

educated Burmans. Despite the fact that some politicians feel it is patriotic and expedient to speak of British imperialist slavery, many of the values inculcated during the colonial period persist. Prior to independence most of Burma's educated people lived and studied in England, and passed on to their colleagues and families the accounts of their adventures. Then too, the prestige of the British ruling classes and their writings about England, not to mention the schoolbooks which glorified England, all tended to help preserve the feeling in Burma of England as a second cultural motherland. Therefore, if given the choice, faculty members and graduate students prefer to go to England for advanced study. British degrees have more prestige than American degrees. This attitude prevails among sociologists, as well as others, despite the fact that sociology has established itself more firmly in the United States than in Britain.[2]

Another factor lessening American in comparison to British influence on the developing Burmese sociology is the shortage of American currency. The Department is very interested in purchasing American books in sociology. Their first problem of course involves limited funds. However, an even greater problem arises out of the difficulty of converting Burmese kyats into American dollars. In downtown Rangoon the bookshops have an adequate supply of British sociology books owing to Anglo-Burmese trade agreements. British books can be ordered with relative ease, whereas American books are scarce and difficult to order. If it was not for deliberate programs of cultural exchange between the United States and Burma to partially counteract unfavorable economic exchange, Burmese sociologists would find it difficult to take advantage of any sociological developments in the United States, except to the degree that Britain with her better trade relations with Burma is being influenced by American sociological thought.

Burmese Influences. There are also factors from within Burmese society itself influencing the developing discipline of sociology. One of these is nationalism. Nationalism is having a twofold effect. For one thing, it has promoted a demand that all positions of importance be filled by Burmans rather than foreigners. This has created a great shortage of trained personnel in all fields. Thus, there is no surplus of persons from older disciplines to provide the first generation of sociologists. Unlike the situation in the early years of sociology in the United States, the pioneer sociologists of Burma are not former philosophers, economists, or biologists who are refocusing earlier interests, but are professionally trained sociologists, trained at the University of Rangoon or abroad.[3]

A second consequence of the strong feeling of nationalism found in Burma today is the national policy of substituting Burmese for English as the medium of university instruction. The University of Rangoon had planned to have all undergraduate class lectures in Burmese by 1960, but this date has been postponed.[4] The transfer from English to Burmese may slow the development of sociology in Burma. Not only must the staff take time to perfect their formal Burmese court language, for vernacular style is not appropriate for a university audience, but they must also face the absence of sociology books in Burmese. Many faculty members feel that English competence will decline with the abandonment of English as the language of the University. Hence students will find books in the English language difficult to read, at the same time that there will be a minimum of textbooks in Burmese available. At the present time one sociologist has been taken from her teaching duties to begin translating, on a fulltime basis, sociological texts into Burmese. Daw Khin Khin Su is working on a free translation of sociological material into Burmese for the first course. The product of this endeavor will be a one-volume book dealing with the topics of social groups, social change, social control, and international society, and including free translations of portions of the following books: Kimball Young's *Principles of Sociology*, Joseph Gittler's *Social Dynamics*, Robert MacIver's *Society*, and Karl Mannheim's *Systematic Sociology*. There is no sense of urgency in converting the Graduate School program into the Burmese language, and therefore no problem of translating sociological works into Burmese at the graduate level. The level of English competence in the Graduate School is outstanding; and even when the Graduate School abandons English as the medium of instruction, the level of English competence may remain high because of the strong graduate tradition in this area.

In addition to nationalism, another factor influencing the development of sociology in Burma has been the interest of the government in social welfare. Burma is officially and ideologically a "welfare state." Thus there have been a development of social work connected with sociology and an interest in the application of sociology in this area.

A third influencing factor on the emerging discipline of sociology is the Burmese desire to develop an industrialized society. Here we may see a great difference between the United States in the early years of her independence and newly independent Burma. While both countries had basically agricultural economics, America did not have so clear and realistic a vision of her national aspirations as does Burma. The industrial society of England was not the beautiful vision of what America aspired

to. In fact, the young American nation probably agreed with Thomas Jefferson's desires to glorify and maintain a society of small farmers. In contrast, the educated Burman accepts the facts of the present world situation and rejects the conception of Burma as an agricultural nation in a world dominated by industrial powers. He wants to learn the most advanced techniques of the industrial type society. This has resulted not only in an interest on the part of Burmese sociologists in the social implications of industrialization, but also in an additional force impelling Burmese scholars to study abroad. Burmese scholars, and particularly sociologists, desire to experience at firsthand their vision of an industrialized society.

A fourth factor on the contemporary Burmese scene affecting the development of areas of interest and specialization within the field of sociology is the importance of ethnic and religious minority groups in Burma. The importance of the minority groups in current sociological and anthropological research may be readily seen by reviewing the titles of Honors and Master's dissertations listed above.

A final factor in Burmese society having an effect on the emerging discipline of sociology is the traditionally high position of women. Women will undoubtedly play a more pre-eminent role in the development of sociology in Burma than they have played in its development in other areas of the world. At the present time, of the eight members of the staff in sociology two are men and six are women.

It is true that traditional Burmese belief held that women were spiritually inferior to men, and thus the Buddhist nuns did not have the worldy influence of the monks, who controlled all education. Nevertheless it may be said that Burmese women enjoyed an exceptionally high status in actual practice, certainly considerably higher than that of European women of a century ago. They had complete economic equality with men, and were frequently considered to have better business sense. Therefore it is not surprising that we find women very active in commerce and the professions in modern-day Burma. With the development of secular education Burmese culture tends to encourage talented young women to compete for university posts. The university is even relatively more of an outlet for talented women since Burmese women do not take much interest in politics, which still lures many of the ambitious young men of the country.

American Influence. Thus far we have shown how the emerging discipline of sociology in Burma is being affected by various characteristics of Burmese society today combined with a strong British influence carried over from the colonial period. There is also a steadily growing influence of American sociology that should be taken into account.

This growing influence of American sociology may be accounted for in two ways. First, interest in American sociology has followed a generally increased interest in the United States. It is quite evident that independence from colonial status lessened the influence of Britain on Burma and increased the influence of other nations. Since the United States is an English-speaking nation, as well as an important world power, it is only natural to expect Burmese interest in this country to grow. The opening to regular diplomatic intercourse spurred mutual interest and increased the channels for cultural interchange. At the same time interest in American culture has been promoted by American movies and popular music. American films are very popular and widely distributed in Burma. The cinema was one of the first and biggest buildings to go up during the postwar rebuilding of heavily damaged cities and towns. Burmans are inveterate movie goers, as were Americans prior to television, and this immense popularity of American motion pictures creates an interest in the United States. This generally increased interest in the United States is felt by sociologists, as well as others, and stimulates increased investigation of American sociology and an increased desire to study in the United States.

Second, there have been specific programs which have increased the influence of American sociology. These include not only the exchange of persons programs, but also such special grants as the recent Ford Foundation grant, which will help supply books in sociology and other social sciences now not available in Rangoon because of the dollar shortage. American sociology books are also brought to Burma by returning Burmese Fulbright scholars, who always return with as many books as possible. These books are usually placed in the Departmental library for the use of graduate students and faculty members. The American exchange scholars also leave American books. All of these sources and activities help to increase the influence of American thought on sociology in Burma despite the hindrances resulting from economic factors. It might be interesting to note that the Honors and Master's reading list includes the following American books: R. M. MacIver, *Sociology*, R. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Lipset and Bendix, *Class, Status, and Power*, and the 1955 edition of *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*; as well as: E. Durkheim, *Suicide*, M. Ginsberg, *Sociology*, M. Ginsberg, *On the Diversity of Morals*, T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*, and J. S. MacKenzie, *Outlines of Social Philosophy*.

A recent grant from the Asia Foundation helps to finance the membership of sociologists from Asian countries in the American Sociological Association, and thereby provides a subscription to the *American Soci-*

ological Review for the price of one dollar for a three-year membership. This grant will be of particular value to the sociologists of Burma not only because of foreign exchange but because the full cost of just one year's membership in the Association represents almost three weeks' salary for an assistant lecturer. The senior author sponsored four new memberships from the Department under this grant, but prior to this year only two members of the staff had been members of the Association for a year. Significantly, both have recently returned from Fulbright grants to the United States.

At the present time, then, the emerging discipline of sociology in Burma is being shaped by influences from Burmese society, the influence of British sociology, and a growing influence of American sociology. The indications are that American influence will steadily increase. In this steady increase of American influence the educational exchange programs are playing a major role. The educational exchange programs, of course, place the Burmese sociologists in face to face situations with American sociologists. The visiting American scholar provides useful firsthand information about different universities and living conditions, and perhaps through his personal influence makes the possibility of visiting the United States seem much more real. In addition, there is a great advantage in knowing a person in a foreign land and university, for it helps to relieve the uncertainty involved in embarking on such an adventure. It is clear that Burmese sociologists have greater opportunities and a greater interest in studying in the United States than they have had in the past. One would expect that as more grants become available a greaer number of students and faculty will be able to come to the United States for further study if political conditions in Burma and the Far East do not interfere.

FOOTNOTES

* Visiting Fulbright lecturer, 1958-59, University of Rangoon.
[1] Under the new rector of the University, sociology has been given only in the third and fourth years, starting in June, 1959. This has necessitated some revision of the curriculum.
[2] J. Rumney, "British Sociology," in Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore (editors), *Twentieth Century Sociology* (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1945), p. 562.
[3] This development is undoubtedly also aided by the fact that sociology is being developed in Burma at a time when the discipline has gained a relatively firm foothold, even if it is not equally well established in all countries of the world.
[4] The date of 1960 has been revised and under the new rector the use of English at the University will continue, at least temporarily, with duplicate courses in Burmese and English where possible. This decision probably was in part based on the problem of the availability of books in Burmese and the necessity for Burmese students to prepare for foreign study.

COURTSHIP FOR SECURITY

SVEND RIEMER
University of California, Los Angeles

ABSTRACT

The practice of going steady increases as our economic institutions move from free competition to large corporations which grant some security to consumers as well as to employees. The social sciences are more encumbered than the natural sciences by this practice. Where going steady occurs at all, it is apt to occur several times, thus leading to more than one experience with members of the opposite sex.

Just as our economic institutions develop from an era of free competition to one of monopoly, our courtship practices take the same turn. According to Willard Waller, courtship practices first became an end in themselves.[1] As "dating"—a custom first known in this country only, although during World War II it was spread widely by our G.I.'s—our courtship practices did not always lead necessarily to marriage any more. They became part of the entertainment pattern in contemporary society. It was correct not to include them in "true" courtship,[2] because they had no goal beyond the limited one of letting two young people have a good time together—at least for an evening.

From an "end in itself," however, dating advanced to a pattern, which aimed at social status, in the social universe. Dating began to serve the purpose of rating, and people dated not so much to get married, not to have fun, but to impress people of their own sex with their ability to date people of high social status.[3]

Today, even that phase has been left behind. Dating for the sake of entertainment as well as social status, however, has eased the way for courtship practices which go far beyond those visualized by Willard Waller. Today, many of our young people do not "date" any more, but they "go steady," a custom we are acquainted with although somewhat ignorant about.

To go steady means dating one person only in a semblance of "true" courtship, or the custom of two people dating each other before marriage. It may appear that our young people have given up the attempt to get to know many marriageable people.[4] "Going steady," indeed, stands in direct contrast to the practice of "playing-the-field."[5]

On the question of why they like to go steady, the young people made various remarks. They reminded us of other endeavors in an age of stable seniority-advancement, which will tell us when a young person will earn exactly how much. We are referred to security in interpersonal relationships. Boys and girls may want to be sure of a date at all times; they

may want to improve their social status, or they may want to know exactly what to expect in the "parking situation." Waller talked about "sexual exploitation."[6] Now, the boy and girl may want to know what is expected of them in a situation about which they do not easily talk to others. The young males seem more often concerned with their ability to participate in all extracurricular activities on the high school campus, while girls seem more concerned with different degrees of sexual exploitation by the males they encounter after a party or a high school dance.

The courtship practices of our younger generation, to be sure, have undergone drastic changes.[7] Still, little is known about going steady, although it has increased from coast to coast and puzzles high school principals as well as parents. Teachers deplore going steady because of its effect on extracurricular activities. Only those may participate who have a steady date, while those who are playing-the-field may not come at all. They may not be well prepared for occasions which are only on a two-sex basis. If the faculty—at such occasions—wants to address itself to the entire school population, it will learn that important members of the school population are absent because they do not want to go "stag" in the absence of a permanent date.

Considering the parents, generation problems are frequently encountered. The young people are always in favor of going steady, but their parents may want them to play the field because they want their children to have a variety of experiences before getting married. They want their children to have the same advantages they themselves had. They do not realize that the courtship situation is somewhat different today. It happens often, as we shall see, that the young people go steady with more than one member of the opposite sex. It may be the only way to get a date at all. Instead of enriching, the parents may, indeed, impoverish their children's experiences with the opposite sex if they insist that the children play the field.

Going steady, of course took place at all times in some fashion. Once upon a time, the young people went steady only before they were actually going to get married. At that time, they did not necessarily play the field any more. On the contrary, they were mainly interested to explore more closely the personality to whom they were going to be united in marriage. They were not conscious, however, of this practice as going steady.

We must, obviously, discriminate today between the tendency of two people to date because they want to get married and the *custom* of going steady. Going steady has become a custom which prevails among our teenagers. That is the new aspect of it. We know that these customs are particularly compelling today because the peer-group of the young people

may assert itself. Thus young people go steady both because it is custom-
ary and also because they are seriously in love with a member of the
opposite sex and want to get married.

We need, of course, an adequate definition of going steady. At a first
glance, this seems an easy task. Inasmuch as first definitions often have to
be arbitrary, we decided to consider a person as going steady if he dated
a member of the opposite sex exclusively. Thus, of course, we were not
able to hold the custom among teenagers and the inclination of marriage-
able people apart. It will be important for the reader, though, to remem-
ber that this distinction was impossible statistically. We would not apply
a different wording with regard to either custom or psychological incli-
nation.

People certainly use different words to indicate the behavior we want
to analyze. They talk about going steady and going steadily, about going
regularly and being pinned. Although different shades of meaning are
inherent in all these different expressions, they are often used without
clear-cut distinction.

In 1959, about 60 students in a college class of the social sciences were
asked to choose between a possible interpretation of the following terms:
dates, dating regularly, play the field, going regularly, going steadily,
going steady, and being pinned. They responded in the following manner:

For "playing-the-field" the students preferred a more exact defini-
tion: dating a variety of persons, each one only once or twice, after which
there is an end to dating them. "Going steady," on the other hand,
seemed according to the students to pertain to a couple that had agreed to
date only each other and, also, had announced this agreement to their
friends. "Going steadily" meant that during a certain period only one
person was dated, although no outright announcement or commitment
was made which would have restricted the dates of these two particular
people.

In other words, going steadily was associated with a lighter form of
going steady. It was, as a matter of fact, the practice of gong steady with-
out an outright promise that two people would date only each other.
They did this without a promise that they would do so.

Before final enumeration, the bimodal attitude toward dating and
going steady had to be taken into account. Thus, the following interesting
relationships were found: Going steady as a high school custom was
avoided by only a few people who did not want to follow the behavior of
the crowd. Among somewhat older people, then, going steady was more
a matter of personal inclination. Not everybody participated in this
pattern, however, which only those abided by who wanted to get married
to each other.

Over the years, of course, a devaluation with regard to the different symbols has taken place which characterizes the succeeding steps of "true courtship," and which lead normally to marriage. Pinning is not so important any more as it once used to be. The same is true for the single date, for going steady, or even the engagement. Along the entire line, informal steps have replaced the more formal ones to indicate advances on the road to marriage. Thus it has become easier for the courtship process to reverse itself. Dating does not lead with stern necessity any more to commitments of greater rigidity.

The road to marriage is more frequently interrupted in our day, just as even divorce may terminate the consummated marriage. Going steady, to be sure, is a relationship that is dissolved with greater ease than marriage itself.

Formal steps are frequently replaced by informal ones. The formal engagement with an announcement by the father of the future bride at a party is often shelved. However, marriage is often preceded by an informal engagement which may be said to begin when the boy "pops the question," i.e., when he asks the girl whether she wants to get married to him, and when greater intimacy may result from this decision which ultimately leads to marriage.

The devaluation of symbols is sometimes accentuated by a growing importance of the actions which accompany them rather than the symbols themselves. Two people sincerely in love may not say in so many words that they are pinned to each other. Rather, the girl makes the announcement indirectly. In the sorority, she may pass candy after dinner. The other girls will soon find out whether the candy implied an intention to get married or a regression to the custom of going steady as in high school days.

Further symbols, to be sure, may also be used to indicate the difference between going steady and a possible future marriage. If full marriage is planned, the pin of the man may be chained to that of the girl. A lack of the chain, on the other hand, may indicate that the two prefer to keep dating each other. No special symbols, moreover, may sanctify the changeover from going steady to marriage plans. There will be no addition of the chain.

A progression takes place, though, as we advance from the natural to the social sciences. Going steady is more frequent in the latter, while the young people in the natural sciences do not go steady so much. They may not have enough time to concern themselves with a future marriage. Engineering seems to hold an intermediate position. The following tables will show that sharing of the parental viewpoints, i.e., less inclination to go

steady and a postponement of marriage plans as well as less devaluation of the symbols leading to marriage, is emphasized in the natural sciences.

Different classes than the one consulted on problems of definition were then asked about the quantity of the phenomenon. Three classes at the University of California, Los Angeles, were investigated for the purpose. Upper division courses were chosen in all instances to cover as much experience of going steady as possible. All students present answered the questionnaire.

The social science class encompassed 187 cases—in the following tables we shall represent this group of students as A; a group of engineering students with 46 students will be tabulated as B; and a group of 30 chemistry students will be tabulated as group C. Table I indicates that the experience of going steady was shared by the majority of these students. The interest in playing the field was held by a minority. Two hundred and twelve students went steady at one time or another, while 51 students never did.

TABLE I

	A		B		C	
		Ever Going Steady or Never Going Steady				
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
161	26	32	14	19	11
		Per Cent				
89	11	70	30	66	34

Going steady began for most students in high school. No distinction could be made in the table between the earlier custom and the later inclination of going steady. A marked numerical difference exists, however, between the beginning of high school and the beginning of the college experience of going steady. We are probably correct in assuming that the cause for going steady is different in either case.

The time of going steady is not very short either. The average time of going steady was two years and eight months for the social scientists, four months for the engineers, two years and three months for the chemists at UCLA. These numbers are too small, of course, to draw further conclusions from these figures, yet we can say that more than two years were usually spent in going steady by those who went steady at all.

The experience of going steady begins most often in high school. Small percentages of students only are added later on. The custom of going steady during the teens is more frequent than the inclination to go

TABLE II

| | The Beginning of Going Steady | | |
	A	B	C
FH	51	10	4
SoH	30	9	3
JH	26	7	2
SeH	25	4	1
FC	9	2	4
SoC	13	1	1
JC	4	0	3
SeC	2	0	1
G	1	0	0

FH—Freshman in High School, etc.
FC—Freshman in College, etc.
G —Graduate Student

steady just before marriage. The beginning of going steady falls off from the freshman year in high school. An irregularity in this sequence, however, can be observed. During the sophomore year in college, the tendency to go steady was joined by 13% of the social science students who went steady, while it was joined by only 9% of their group in the preceding freshman year. The temporoary increase differs from the decreasing tendency in all other years. Some explanation is necessary to account for the conditions that exist during the freshman year at college. We deal here, it seems, with a time of transition from the initial high school custom to the college pattern of going steady because a member of the opposite sex has been chosen for marriage.

Going steady, to be sure, does not isolate the students abiding by this practice. Customarily, they have more than one of these experiences, and they limit themselves only for a time to one person if they want to know that person more intensively. In the average, our social science students went steady with 3.11 members of the opposite sex, and periods of free dating were thrown in for good measure. The fear, therefore, that going steady leads youngsters to a distinctly different pattern from that of playing the field known to the older generation is erroneous. It is wrong to think of only one steady date.

The trend in the practice of going steady could not be investigated because we lacked scope and sufficiently large numbers in this investigation at our university. The practice of going steady, though, seems still to be on the increase. The trend in favor of going steady is probably going on. There is nothing to indicate, so far anyway, that going steady is a temporary fad.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Willard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," *American Sociological Review*, 2:727-34. This article contains a full description of the contemporary courtship process without mention of the practice of going steady.

[2] In the above-mentioned article Waller adopts a frequent procedure. He defines "true" courtship, and then speaks disparagingly about the customs he was able to observe. Needless to say, a fairly negative attitude about contemporary courtship practices results from the fact alone that they do not live up to the definition of courtship he has made initially.

[3] Thorstein Veblen, of course, developed the notion of "conspicuous consumption" in his book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917).

[4] We know that frequency of dating is associated with premarital sex behavior and, therefore, not necessarily to be recommended. See Winston Ehrmann, *Premarital Dating Behavior* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959), p. 122.

[5] See H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radlow, *The American Teen-Ager* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1957).

[6] Waller writes about sexual exploitation in his article, *op. cit.*

[7] A fairly comprehensive account of recent courtship practices will be found in the work by Jessie Bernard, Helen E. Buchanan, and William H. Smith, Jr., *Dating, Mating and Marriage* (Cleveland: Howard Allen, Inc., 1958).

SOCIAL DISTANCE AMONG GYMNASIUM STUDENTS IN SOUTHERN GREECE

PANOS D. BARDIS
The University of Toledo

ABSTRACT

A Greek translation of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, whose reliability was found satisfactory among young Greeks, was given to a sample of Gymnasium students in the Peloponnesus. The social distance mean of the subjects was much higher than those obtained by similar studies in America. No significant correlation was established between social distance and the variables of age, sex, and minor educational differences.

INTRODUCTION

In his presidential address at the 1958 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Robin M. Williams, Jr., asserted that " . . . a scientific sociology, by definition, cannot be provincial. Among the opportunities for future research, a high rank accordingly is occupied by comparative or cross-cultural studies, especially those that will investigate scientific hypotheses by objective operations."[1]

THE PROBLEM

It was a similar conviction that led the present writer to make a comparative study of social distance aimed primarily at two objectives: (1) to explore the possibility of employing satisfactorily certain research techniques in more than one culture and (2) to investigate the nature of social distance in a non-American society and to compare the findings with those of other studies dealing with social distance among Americans.

The second objective was represented by the hypothesis that, since the present study deals with a rural area in southern Greece which lacks the international and interracial contacts typical of the American society, the arithmetic mean of the social distance reactions in the former area is higher than comparable averages given by studies made in the United States.

METHODOLOGY

The Scale. The technique employed was the well-known Bogardus Social Distance Scale,[2] which measures social distance between a given respondent and certain races and nationalities. The lowest possible score

on this scale is 1.00, which means that the subject is willing to marry into the groupings to which he responds. On the other hand. the highest possible score is 7.00, which represents the respondent's willingness to debar the groupings to which he reacts from his nation.

Because the present study constitutes part of a major survey dealing with attitudes toward whites, Negroes, Mongoloids, white Americans, Latin Americans, Hawaiians, Filipinos, Chinese, Greeks, East Indians, and Scandinavians, the races and nationalities included in the scale employed in southern Greece were these same eleven groupings. Needless to add that the technique was translated into modern Greek before it was given to the Greek subjects.

The translated scale was tested twice, in that different culture, as follows:

1. A split-half reliability test involving 32 cases selected at random from the sample gave a raw coefficient of .814, which, when corrected by means of the Spearman-Brown formula,[4] resulted in a reliability coefficient of .897. This value, with 30 degrees of freedom, was significant much below the .01 level.

2. A test-retest based on 20 members of the sample gave a reliability coefficient of .959, which, with 18 degrees of freedom, was also significant much below the .01 level.[5]

The Sample. The group studied consisted of 140 males and 65 females, all of whom were students of a rural Gymnasium in the heart of the Peloponnesus. The sample was stratified as to sex and school class—only the four highest grades were included. All of the 205 subjects were white, Greek, Greek Orthodox, and single, their ages ranging between 15 and 20. The data were collected by means of personal interviews in 1956, the same year as the Bogardus study[5] with which the present survey is compared.

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

According to Table I, the arithmetic mean representing the attitudes of the Greek subjects toward various races and nationalities (4.34) was much higher than that of the American subjects in the Bogardus study (2.08). Furthermore, the Greek data indicate that, in reality, social distance was higher than 4.34, since, of the 11 groupings to which the subjects responded, 2, namely, whites and Greeks, were naturally both represented by a value of 1.00, which lowered the general social distance mean—the American average was based on 30 groupings.

Table I also reveals that the respondents in the present survey disapproved of every race and nationality more extensively than the Bogardus subjects did, except, of course, for the Greek grouping. In the

former study the ascending order, according to social distance means, of the 11 races and nationalities was as follows: Greeks and whites (both 1.00), white Americans, Scandinavians, Latin Americans, Hawaiians, Filipinos, East Indians, Negroes, Chinese, and Mongoloids.

As far as the present study is concerned, then, it appears that in racially, ethnically, and religiously homogeneous areas which lack cosmopolitan contacts, prejudice against various out-groups is more extensive than in cosmopolitan areas. In other words, international and interracial contacts, unless they are accompanied by unpleasant experiences, tend to reduce social distance.

When the mean of the Greek males (4.33) was compared with that of the Greek females (4.39), the t test gave a value of .58, which, with 203 degrees of freedom, was insignificant above the .50 level. A study of young Americans, however, conducted by Emory S. Bogardus[7] in 1956,

TABLE I

SOCIAL DISTANCE ARITHMETIC MEANS
OF AMERICANS AND GREEKS

Race or Nationality	Americans[a]	Greeks
Whites	——[b]	1.00
Negroes	2.74	5.84
Mongoloids	2.70[c]	6.34
White Americans	1.08	2.56
Latin Americans	2.79[d]	4.60
Hawaiians	——[b]	4.68
Filipinos	2.46	5.44
Chinese	2.68	5.98
Greeks	2.09	1.00
East Indians	2.80	5.80
Scandinavians	1.57[e]	4.57
General mean	2.08[f]	4.34

(a) Emory S. Bogardus, "Racial Distance Changes in the United States During the Past Thirty Years," *Sociology and Social Research*, 43:135a, Column III; (b) not included in the Bogardus study; (c) Japanese only; (d) Mexicans only; (e) Swedes only; (f) based on 30 races and nationalities.

indicated a much higher difference between males and females in regard to social distance means (males 1.98, females 2.18). Perhaps this may be explained by the fact that the greater freedom enjoyed by males in both societies results in liberalism-generating international and interracial contacts among Americans, whereas in the Greek province under consideration it does not lower social distance, as similar contacts are nonexistent.

Analogous results were obtained when the various age levels were compared. Indeed, the ethnic, racial, and religious homogeneity of the Greek province appears to have prevented the development of a significant differentiation between younger and older subjects in regard to social distance scores; for when age and social distance were correlated, the coefficient was only —.13, which, with 203 degrees of freedom, was insignificant at both the .01 and .05 levels. It seems, then, that even the slightly longer scholastic training of the older respondents had not acted as a liberalizing force.

Nevertheless, when the mean of the Gymnasium subjects (4.34) was compared with that of a group of young Greeks studying in an American university (1.72),[8] the t test gave a value of 12.48, which, with 215 degrees of freedom, was significant much below the .001 level. The possible reasons for this difference are as follow: First, the ethnocentrism of the Greek students in America gradually diminished as a result of the decrease in the social control exercised over them by their families and native communities. Second, because of their international and interracial contacts, they developed a cosmopolitan outlook. Third, their education, which was not only much more extensive than that of the Gymnasium students but also more intercultural, constituted a liberalizing factor. Incidentally, a study of intercultural education conducted by Emory S. Bogardus in the summer of 1947 at the University of Southern California revealed that the social distance mean of the participating students decreased from 1.84 to 1.63, as a result of such training.[9] And fourth, their new friendships and other attachments while in the United States tended to decrease social distance among the Greek students, at least to some extent.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This is a study in comparative sociology dealing with social distance among 205 Gymnasium males and females in southern Greece. The social distance scores were obtained by means of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and compared with the findings of similar studies conducted in the United States. The main results and conclusions were as follows:

1. Certain research techniques may be successfully employed in more than one culture, thus contributing valuable knowledge to comparative sociology.

2. International and interracial contacts, unless accompanied by unpleasant experiencess, tend to reduce social distance.

3. The social distance scores of the Gymnasium Greeks were much higher than those given by similar American studies.

4. Age differences did not affect social distance significantly.

5. Minor educational differences were not associated with significantly different social distance scores. More extensive education, however, especially of the intercultural type, acted as a liberalizing force.

6. Unlike American males and females, the two sexes in the Greek Gymnasium did not differ significantly as to social distance.

7. Finally, additional information may be obtained by conducting similar studies involving university students, rural and urban samples, more diverse age levels, various occupational groupings, and so forth.

FOOTNOTES

[1] "Continuity and Change in Sociological Study," *American Sociological Review*, 23:629.

[2] See Emory S. Bogardus, "Racial Distance Changes in the United States During the Past Thirty Years," *Sociology and Social Research*, 43:135.

[3] See Panos D. Bardis, "Social Distance Among Foreign Students," *ibid.*, 41:112-14.

[4] Henry E. Garrett, *Statistics in Psychology and Education*, fourth edition (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953), pp. 338-41.

[5] Perhaps this reliability coefficient would have been slightly lower if the subjects had been members of a society consisting of many different races and nationalities, since interracial and international contacts occurring between the test and the retest might have caused considerable fluctuations in some of the scores.

[5] Bogardus, *op. cit.*, p. 135a, Column III; also, "Trends in Social Distance in American Life," *Social Science*, 35:10-16.

[7] "Race Relations by Sexes," *Sociology and Social Research*, 43:439-41.

[8] Bardis, *op. cit.*

[9] "The Intercultural Workshop and Racial Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32:798-802. Concerning the influence of education on social distance, see also James G. Martin and Frank R. Westie, "The Tolerant Personality," *American Sociological Review*, 24:521-28.

A COMPARISON OF PERSONALITY NEEDS
OF COURTSHIP COUPLES
AND SAME-SEX FRIENDSHIPS

BARBARA R. DAY
Long Beach State College

ABSTRACT

In this study, comparing personality-need patterns of courtship couples and their respective same-sex friends, there appears to be no general, systematic pattern of either complementariness or homogamy of personality needs as related to selection of either courtship partners or same-sex friends. However, the specific needs and need combinations significantly related to selection of courtship partners and same-sex friends are considerably different.

In recent years there has been considerable emphasis on the influence of personality needs on marital selection.[1] Closely akin to the question as to whether and how needs may be related to selection in courtship,[2] there is a further question of the possible relationship of needs to same-sex friendship selection. Are the same personality needs related to same-sex friendship as to opposite-sex friendship selection? And is there a systematic pattern of either complementariness or homogamy of needs in either or both of the above types of selection? In view of the negative findings concerning a systematic pattern of either complementariness or homogamy of personality needs related to courtship selection, reported in an earlier article,[3] a comparative analysis was made of same-sex friendship selection to determine what the results would be.

The investigator attempted to shed some light on these questions by studying college courtship couples and their respective same-sex friends. The sample consisted of 60 courtship couples (volunteers from the University of Washington, Seattle University, and Seattle Pacific College in Seattle, Washington) and the respective same-sex friends for both male and female members of 28 of the couples. This allowed for some comparison of opposite-sex and same-sex friendship selections. Each subject completed a questionnaire containing some background items, a few control items, and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, which gives measures of 15 personality variables associated with 15 manifest needs.[4]

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS ON THE
PPS PERSONALITY VARIABLES

A comparison of the personality variables was made between male members of couples and female members of couples, male members of

couples and their respective male friends, and female members of couples and their female friends.[5]

In comparing males and females of couples it was found that mean scores for males were significantly higher than their female partners' on achievement, autonomy, dominance, hetersosexuality, and aggression; whereas the mean scores for females were significantly higher than for males on deference, affiliation, abasement, nurturance, and intraception. These differences between means were significant at least at the 5 per cent level.

These findings on differences between the males and females of courtship couples on the personality variables used in this study are consistent with the different role expectations and cultural training of males and females in the United States. Men are generally expected to be independent, aggressive, and dominant, to place emphasis on achievement and occupational success, and to show the more obvious interest in members of the opposite sex. Women, on the other hand, are expected to be more deferent and to look up to others, more socially inclined, more helpful and motherly yet needing to be helped and protected by the male, intuitive in understanding oneself and others, and more accepting of guilt or blame.

In contrast to the rather large number (10) of significant differences between means on personality variables for members of courtship couples, very few significant differences were found for members of same-sex friendships. There was only one significant difference for female friendships and only one for male friendships. Female friends of the female members of couples have a significantly higher mean on *deference* and male friends of male members of couples have a significantly higher mean on *affiliation*. Thus, as might be expected, same-sex friends are similar on more personality needs than members of courtship couples.

NEED PATTERNS OF COURTSHIP COUPLES COMPARED TO THOSE OF SAME-SEX FRIENDS

In one part of the analysis of the data an attempt was made to duplicate as nearly as possible a part of the research carried on by Winch and associates[6] in order to shed further light on the theory of complementary needs. Does the theory of complementary needs apply to both same-sex friends and opposite-sex friends (courtship couples)? If not, what kind of pattern, if any, does exist? Do the same specific needs that operate in courtship selection operate in same-sex friendship selection? If not, how do they differ?

In an attempt to answer these questions, product-moment correlations between members of courtship couples were obtained on all possible com-

binations of the 15 needs (225 in all). The same procedure was used for members of same-sex friendships. Employing the theory of complementary needs, and taking into account the Type 2 complementariness defined by Winch,[7] *in each case* we would expect that the 15 interpair correlations involving the same need would be negative. Type 1 complementariness, which deals with paired needs, will not be discussed in this article, since just which need combinations present psychological opposites is somewhat debatable.

The results of the intercouple correlations for courtship couples, reported in an earlier article,[8] showed only 2 out of 15 significant in the hypothesized direction, and neither of these was significant at the .05 level. Four out of the 15 were significantly positive at the .05 level, indicating homogamy. Thus the data did not support the theory of complementary needs for courtship couples.

A summary of the 30 same-sex friendship correlations on same need is as follows. For male friendships, of the 2 correlations in the hypothesized direction none is significant at the 5 per cent level, and of the 13 in the opposite direction 5 are significant, Six correlations are in the hypothesized direction for female friendships with none significant. Of the 9 in the opposite direction, 1 is significant.

The number of significant correlations in the hypothesized direction for both male friendships and female friendships is even less than the number expected by chance under the null hypothesis of no relationship. We, therefore, conclude that the data for Type 2 complementariness for both male and female friendship pairs do not support the general theory of complementary needs. We also find little evidence for the theory of homogamy of needs. However, on interfriendship correlations for males on same need, 5 out of 15 are significantly positive, which is in the direction of homogamy.

Next, the specific need patterns of same-sex and opposite-sex friendship pairs were examined. In the discussion of specific needs and need combinations which follows, all correlations were significant at least at the .05 level. The size of the correlation coefficients will not be reported in this article because of space limitations.

On *same need,* the significant, interpair correlations for courtship couples were for the variables of succorance, heterosexuality, change, and aggression; for male friendships, heterosexuality, abasement, deference, autonomy, and dominance; and for female friendships, change. All of these are positive correlations. The only overlapping here is on *heterosexuality,* which was significant for both courtship couples and male friends, and *change,* which was significant for both courtship couples

and female friends. There is no overlapping for male friends and female friends. Thus the needs are almost completely different for courtship couples, male friendship pairs, and female friendship pairs.

For *paired needs*, for courtship couples (male-female) those significant, intercouple correlations which were negative were affiliation-heterosexuality, order-dominance, autonomy-deference, autonomy-order, succorance-heterosexuality, dominance-deference, dominance-endurance, nurturance-heterosexuality, endurance-succorance, and aggression-exhibition. Those positive were for autonomy-achievement, achievement-aggression, nurturance-abasement, endurance-intraception, and heterosexuality-succorance.

For male friendships (male friend-male of courtship couple) those need combinations for which significant, negative, interpair correlations were found were intraception-aggression, dominance-abasement, exhibition-succorance, exhibition-nurturance, autonomy-abasement, autonomy-endurance, and nurturance-autonomy. Those significant, positive correlations were for autonomy-achievement and nurturance-abasement.

For female friendships (female friend-female of courtship couple) the negative, interpair correlations significant for need combinations were obtained for autonomy-endurance, dominance-succorance, exhibition-achievement, autonomy-dominance, abasement-deference, abasement-affiliation, and nurturance-deference; while those significant, positive correlations were for autonomy-deference, deference-achievement, deference-dominance, exhibition-heterosexuality, succorance-abasement, abasement-heterosexuality, and endurance-affiliation.

Thus, as was the case for interpair correlations on same need, there is little overlapping of interpair correlations for need combinations for opposite-sex and same-sex friendship pairs. Only on two need combinations (*autonomy-achievement* and *nurturance-abasement*) does overlap occur for courtship couples and male friends, and only on one need combination (*autonomy-deference*) is there overlap between courtship couples and female friends. The fact that different need combinations are operating in male and female friendships is indicated by the fact that only one pair of needs (*autonomy-endurance*) was held in common by these two kinds of dyads.

As can be seen from the above, individuals tend to select same-sex friends on the basis of different specific needs and need combinations than their opposite-sex friends. The needs significantly related to opposite-sex friendship choices are, with only a few expections, entirely different from those found to be significant for same-sex friendships.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus in this study there appears to be no *general, systematic* pattern of either complementariness or homogamy of personality needs as related to selection of either courtship partners or same-sex friends. However, the *specific needs* and *need combinations* significantly related to selection of courtship partners and same-sex friends are considerably different. Also, the specific needs operating in male-male friendship selections are quite distinct from those of female-female friendships. There is the possibility, of course, that these correlations occurred only through chance. If not, the findings are suggestive of important differences *within* the need patterns of different types of friendships. Additional research will be necessary to provide a basis for understanding these differences.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Some of the publications in this area are: Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, "Homogamy in Personality Characteristics," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 39: 475-81; Burgess and Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1953); Anselm Strauss, "Personality Needs and Marital Choice," *Social Forces*, 25: 332-35; Robert F. Winch and Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection: An Analytic and Descriptive Study," *American Sociological Review*, 19:241-49; Robert F. Winch, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection: A Test of One Kind of Complementariness," *ibid.*, 20: 52-56; Winch, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection: Final Results on the Test of the General Hypothesis," *ibid.*, 20: 552-55; Thomas Ktsanes, Mate Selection on the Basis of Personality Type: A Study Utilizing an Empirical Typology of Personality," *ibid.*, 20:547-51; Robert F. Winch and Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, "Empirical Elaboration of the Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 51: 508-13; Winch, *The Modern Family* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1952); Robert F. Winch and Robert McGinnis, *Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1953); Winch, *Mate-Selection: A Study of Complementary Needs* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958).

[2] Charles E. Bowerman and Barbara R. Day, "A Test of the Theory of Complementary Needs as Applied to Couples During Courtship," *American Sociological Review*, 21: 601-05.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Edward's categories of needs, based on H. A. Murray's classification, are: achievement, dominance, deference, order, exhibition, intraception, change, nurturance, succorance, heterosexuality, aggression, abasement, endurance, autonomy, and affiliation. These are given in H. A. Murray *et al.*, *Explorations in Personality* (New York: Oxford Press, 1938).

The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (PPS) and the procedure of administration are discussed in an earlier article, Bowerman and Day, *op. cit.*, 21: 602-05.

[5] For each of the 15 personality variables the means and standard deviations were obtained and the t test used to determine the significance of difference between means.

[5] See footnote 1 for a relevant list of publications by Robert F. Winch and associates.

[7] The theory of complementary needs states that "Within the field of eligibles people tend to mate with those whose need patterns generally complement their own, rather than with those whose need patterns are similar to their own." This is quoted from Robert F. Winch, *The Modern Family, op. cit.,* p. 403. Complementariness as defined by Winch is as follows: "When two persons, A and B, are interacting, we consider the resulting gratifications of both to be 'complementary' if one of the following conditions is satisfied: (1) the need or needs in A which are being gratified are *different in kind* from the need or needs being gratified in B; or (2) the need or needs in A which are being gratified are very *different in intensity* from the same needs in B, which are also being gratified." This is quoted from Robert F. Winch and Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection: An Analytic and Descriptive Study," *American Sociological Review.* 19: 243.

[8] Bowerman and Day, *op. cit.,* p. 604.

ARAB STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS
OF AMERICAN STUDENTS

KHALIL I. GEZI
Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles

ABSTRACT

Arab students' adjustments to American life are highly associated with their perceptions of the interest or disinterest of Americans in them, and with their ease or difficulty in dating Americans of the opposite sex.

The data of this study are based on the materials collected for a doctoral dissertation on the acculturation of Arab students in the United States, which was completed in 1959.[1]

Before proceeding to the other sections of this paper, a clarification of two terms, adjustment and interaction, will be made. The word "adjustment" is used here to refer to the expressed satisfaction of the Arab students in the sample with their sojourn in the United States. "Interaction" refers to the reciprocal contact between two persons or more and the influences which may be brought about as a result of such a contact.

METHODOLOGY

Three open-end questions were used as a part of a twenty-question interview schedule which was developed with the aid of two Stanford University professors[2] as the major technique of investigation for the larger study on the acculturation of Arab students in the United States. The following three questions were posed to each of sixty-two Arab students during personal interviews with them:

1. Do you think that American students are friendly and interested in associating with Arab students? Why?

2. Do you think that Arab students are interested in associating with American students? Why?

3. Do you think that Arab students have any difficulty in making dates with Americans? Why?

The data that were obtained from the student interviews are classified into the following three categories: (1) Arab students' perceptions of the interest or disinterest of Americans in interacting with them, (2) Arab students' perceptions of their own interest or disinterest in interacting with Americans, and (3) Arab students' perceptions of their degree of difficulty or ease in making dates with American youth. The dependent factor to which all these three variables are to be associated is adjustment.

Adjustment, as mentioned above, is defined as the expressed satisfaction of the Arab students with their sojourn in the United States. There are three separate ratings of the Arab students' satisfaction-dissatisfaction with their American sojourn. These ratings, however, are found to have a high percentage of agreement (98 per cent) upon which a final satisfaction-dissatisfaction rating is made. These three ratings are as follows: (1) A rating of general satisfaction which is based on the opinions of the students' advisers and teachers who were interviewed by the investigator; (2) A rating of general satisfaction of the students which is based on the opinions of his fellow students who knew him well; (3) The third rating of general satisfactionn is that which was obtained from the student interviews after analyzing their responses to the various questions in the twenty-question interview schedule.

In order to check the reliability of the investigator's interpretation of the protocols and hence his analysis of the students' satisfaction or dissatisfaction, an independent rater read the protocols and analyzed each subject's satisfaction or dissatisfaction. A high percentage of agreement (95 per cent) was found between the investigator's ratings and those of the independent rater.

After the satisfaction-dissatisfaction rating for each student was determined and convenient categories for each variable were established, contingency tables were drawn to associate each variable with the dependent factor, which is satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

In order to discover whether any association exists between each variable and satisfaction or dissatisfaction, the chi square analysis of independence was used. A discussion of the findings of this analysis will be found later in the paper.

THE SAMPLE

The sample of this study consists of all the sixty-two Middle Eastern Arab students who were studying or were in residence during the Summer Session of 1958 at the following California universities and colleges: Stanford University, the University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State College, the University of San Francisco, San Mateo Junior College, the University of California Extension at Davis, Oakland Junior College, Sacramento Junior College, California Polytechnic College at San Luis Obispo, Modesto Junior College, and Contra Costa Junior College. The sample includes students from Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Sudan, the United Arab Republic, and Yemen. The students in the sample ranged in age from 19 years to 36 years and were

predominantly single male. Of the sixty-two students in the sample, only four were girls and only thirteen were married. Among the married students, only one was separated from his wife, who stayed home in his native country. Most of these students were married to Arab spouses. Only three were married to American girls, another one to an Egyptian-American girl, and another to a Dutch girl. As for the number of students aspiring for undergraduate or graduate degrees, seventeen were studying toward their Bachelor's degree, another seventeen were studying toward their Master's degree, and twenty-eight were studying toward their Doctorate degree. The students are distributed over twenty-five categories of study in the scientific field, whether pure, applied, or descriptive. The students' sojourn in the United States varied from six months to twelve years, and the majority had to support themselves during their sojourn in this country.

THE DATA

In the following statements, an attempt will be made to describe how the Arab students in the sample responded to the three questions which were posed to them.

1. Do you think that American students are friendly and interested in associating with Arab students? Why?

Forty-seven students (or 74 per cent) thought that American students, and Americans in general, are friendly and interested in interacting with Arab students. Many Arab students explained that Americans are interested in associating with Arabs because of their interest in learning about the Middle East and because of their curiosity to know people from other lands.

Fifteen students (or 24 per cent of those in the sample) thought that American students, and Americans in general, are unfriendly and disinterested in associating with Arab students. The following are the categories of the replies given by these students to account for Americans' disinterest in associating with them and the percentage frequency of these categories:

(a) Americans are prejudiced against foreigners (12 per cent).

(b) Americans are afraid that foreigners may poison their minds (4 per cent).

(c) Americans have superiority feelings (20 per cent).

(d) Americans have interests different from those of the Arab students (8 per cent).

(e) Americans have a distorted picture of the Arabs. They think that Arabs are backward people and are very aggressive (44 per cent).

(f) Americans are too busy to make friendships with other people (4 per cent).

(g) Americans think that their taxes are being spent on foreign students (4 per cent).

(h) Americans think that international students will stay in the United States and compete with them for jobs (4 per cent).

Here is the second question and the Arab students' responses to it.

2. Do you think that Arab students are interested in associating with American students? Why?

Forty students (or 65 per cent of the students in the sample) thought that Arab students want to associate with Americans in order to make new friendships with Americans and also in order to learn from them about their complicated culture.

Twenty-two students, however, thought that Arab students do not want to associate with Americans. They thought the following to be the causes of the disinterest of the Arab students in interacting with Americans:

(a) Arab students have a language barrier since they do not know English well (25 per cent of the responses).

(b) Arab students are shy and lack social polish (30.5 per cent).

(c) Differences in customs between the American culture and the Middle Eastern culture make starting a friendship with Americans difficult for the Arab students (14 per cent).

(d) Arab students are made to feel that they are "foreigners" when they intreact with superiority-conscious Americans (5.5 per cent).

(e) American friendship is seen by the Arab students as superficial and short lived (11 per cent).

(f) Arabs like to engage in political discussions, whereas Americans seem to care little about international politics (8.5 per cent).

(g) The college atmosphere does not provide many opportunities to know Americans (5.5 per cent).

Here is the third question and the Arab students' responses to it.

3. Do you think that Arab students have difficulty in making dates with American girls (or boys)? Why?

Forty students (or 65 per cent of those in the sample) felt that occasional dates are easily made, whereas twenty students (or 35 per cent) thought that having dates with Americans is a difficult matter. The majority of the students thought also that American girls (or boys) are sociable, tactful, free, and independent. The minortiy of the students

gave the following reasons for the Arab students' difficulty in making dates: (a) lack of opportunities to meet Americans, (b) American girls' feeling of superiority and mistrust, (c) the language barrier, and (d) lack of knowledge of American social customs and manners, especially, in regard to dating behavior.

ANALYZING THE INTERVIEWS

An attempt will be made in this section to discover whether there are any significant associations between adjustment, as manifested in the expressed satisfaction of the Arab students, and each of the following: (a) Arab students' perceptions of the interest of Americans in interacting with them, (b) Arab students' perceptions of their interest in interacting with Americans, and (c) Arab students' perceptions of ease or difficulty in making dates with Americans.

It is significant to note that this discussion is not dealing with how much, if any, actual interaction did take place between Arab students and American students. Rather, this discussion deals with what the *Arab students perceived* to be the interest or disinterest of Americans in interacting with them, what these students perceived to be their own interest or disinterest in interacting with Americans, and what these students perceived to be their chances of dating Americans.

The association between each of the previously mentioned three variables and the dependent factor, satisfaction, is determined by the use of the chi square test of independence. It is important to observe here that this test can only show that a certain degree of association exists, or does not exist, between each variable and satisfaction. The test does not indicate in itself any necessary causality in any association. However, the hypotheses advanced in regard to each variable will be shown to be consistent with the associations found in this study.

Arab Students' Perceptions of the Interest or Disinterest of Americans in Interacting with Them. It is theorized here that when certain members of a guest (minority) group, such as the Arab students in the United States, perceive members of the host culture, such as Americans in this case, to be unfriendly and disinterested in knowing them and interacting with them, the guest group are more likely not only to avoid contacts with members of the host culture but also to view these people and their culture negatively. In order to discover whether the data are consistent with this hypothesis, a contingency table was constructed to categorize the frequencies shown in the data, and then the chi square test of independence was used to analyze the association among these frequencies.

The test indicates a very high association ($p<.001$) between the way Arab students perceived the attitude of Americans interacting with them and the Arab students' satisfaction with their sojourn in the United States. This high association seems to be consistent with the hypothesis advanced.

2. *Arab Students' Perceptions of Their Interests or Disinterests in Interacting with American Students in General.* The chi square analysis of the frequencies in the contingency table which is drawn from the data in regard to this area does not show any statistically significant association between the Arab students' perceptions of their attitude toward interaction with Americans and the students' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their sojourn here. The lack of significant association here can be interpreted by pointing out that the Arab students interviewed were not aggressive in general and seemed to wait for Americans to start contacts with them. Therefore, the interest of these Arab students in interacting with Americans did not seem to considerably affect the students' behavior in this regard. Rather, the investigator had the impression that the Arab students' actual contacts with Americans seemed to have hinged on the interests and initiative of the latter in these contacts.

3. *Arab Students' Perceptions of Their Degree of Difficulty or Ease in Dating Americans.* In a restrictive culture, such as that of the Arab countries where women and men have their highly separate worlds and where boy-girl relationships are extremely restricted, a young person who yearns to meet and to experience dating members of the other sex is frustrated by traditional customs and religious taboos. When such a person comes to a nonrestrictive culture, such as that of the United States where men and women are equally free, one of this person's strong drives becomes that of meeting young Americans of the opposite sex. Therefore, the satisfaction of such a strong drive becomes almost synonymous with one's satisfaction with one's life in the United States. If the single male Arab student, for instance, is completely frustrated in his vigorous quest to meet American girls, his feelings of inadequacy and frustration are likely to dim the image of American life in his eyes.

In the case of the married Arab students, their perceptions of their own difficulty or ease in interacting with American girls and boys and their perceptions of whether their fellow Arab students find difficulty in dating Americans reflect the married students' own feelings toward American girls and boys. If a married student, for instance, feels that all Arab students face difficulties in interacting with American girls because of the latter's feelings of superiority, because of disregard for the Arabs, or because of some other uncomplimentary reasons, such feelings on the

part of the married Arab student are likely to produce negative images not only of American girls but also of Americans in general. There are a few actual cases, about which the investigator has learned during the interviews with the students, that tend to lend some fragmentary support to the ideas mentioned above. But in order to discover whether the data of this investigation, systematically analyzed, can show significant association between the Arab students' perceptions of their difficulty or ease in dating American youth and the students' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their sojourn in the United States, a contingency table was made and the frequencies in it were analyzed by the use of the chi square test. The results indicate a very high correlation (p<.001) between the students' perceptions regarding dating and their satisfaction with the sojourn.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Arab students' adjustment to American life and their satisfaction with their sojourn in the United States are found to be highly associated (p<.001) with (a) the Arab students' perceptions of the interest or disinterest of Americans in interacting with them, on one hand, and (b) the Arab students' perceptions of their ease or difficulty in dating Americans of the opposite sex, on the other hand.

2. Arab students' adjustment to American life and their satisfaction with their sojourn here are found not to be associated with their perceptions of their own interest or disinterest in interacting with Americans.

In termination, it is important to note that since the sample of this study is representative only of the Arab students in the universities and colleges mentioned earlier, the generalizations which are based upon this sample apply primarily to these students. The extension of these generalizations to larger Middle Eastern student bodies in other parts of the United States can only be justified if the samples in these areas are at least broadly similar to the sample of this study.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Khalil I. Gezi, "The Acculturation of the Middle Eastern Arab Students in Selected American Colleges and Universities" (Washington, D. C., 1960).

[2] Professors George Spindler and Frederick McDonald.

THE SPANISH AMERICANS
IN NEW MEXICO

CLARK S. KNOWLTON
New Mexico Highlands University

ABSTRACT

The Spanish American culture is in the process of rapid socioeconomic change leading to assimilation by the dominant English-speaking group. The breakdown of village economy, continued land loss, overpopulation, and lack of economic opportunities are forcing these people to move from the rural villages to the industrial centers. This process of change, migration, and the resultant problems have largely escaped the attention of social scientists.

The Spanish Americans in this paper are defined as the descendants of early settlers who moved north from Mexico following the reconquest of New Mexico from the Indians by Diego de Vargas in 1692. Isolated for several hundred years from other European settlements, they gradually developed a distinctive culture, drawing from both Indian and Spanish cultural elements.

Living today in villages and settlements grouped within perhaps a 150-mile radius of Santa Fe, they form a compact socioeconomic cultural grouping in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico distinct in culture, ethnic composition, and language from other Spanish-speaking groups in the United States. It should be emphasized that they are not modern Mexicans. Their ancestors moved into this area long before any substantial number of modern Mexican immigrants flowed into the United States.

The Spanish Americans are not the only ethnic group in New Mexico. Indeed, there are few states that offer such excellent opportunities for research on culture contacts, acculturation and assimilation, and social and cultural changes. Unfortunately these opportunities have remained for the most part in a highly virgin state.

Of the three major ethnic groupings found in the state—the Indian pueblos and tribes, the English-speaking elements, and the Spanish Americans—the Indians have attracted the attention of the largest number of social scientists. As one local Indian remarked, "There have been at times as many anthropologists studying a Pueblo as there were Indians living within it." As a result, considerable hostility, resentment, and secrecy have developed among some Indian pueblos toward students of their culture.

The second ethnic group, the English-speaking people known in New Mexico as "Anglos," have, with the exception of the Ramah area, been overlooked by sociologists and anthropologists.[1] This is rather unfor-

tunate, as New Mexico contains a large number of diverse English-speaking groups, ranging from such selective communities as Los Alamos with its highly professional population to newly created boom towns founded upon oil or uranium discoveries. There are as well, rapidly growing cities spreading out in a maze of speculative suburban developments, conservative slow-changing Mormon villages, and towns and villages settled by Texans, Oklahomans, and others from the plains states in relatively new agricultural and ranching settlements.

The Spanish Americans have been the subject of a number of studies by such scholars as George I. Sanchez, Paul A. F. Walter, Jr., Charles P. Loomis, Olen E. Leonard, Lyle Saunders, John H. Burma, and Horacio Ulibarri.[2] Much valuable material on the Spanish American people exists, buried in the files of the various Federal departments and agencies active in New Mexico.

Since the majority of these writers did their work a number of years ago, their writings with the exception of an article by Loomis and a monograph by Ulibarri have gradually become dated and are no longer completely descriptive of the peoples or villages studied.[3] Many readers and even students in the fields of sociology and anthropology assume that these studies are as valid today as when they were written. Consequently, a totally false impression has developed about the timelessness and static nature of Spanish American villages, institutions, and culture.[4] As a matter of fact, a tremendous momentum in the transition from the traditional Spanish American culture to the Anglo way of life took place immediately after World War II, when the veterans returned from the military services and the shipyard workers came back from the West Coast.

Another problem that should be mentioned is a common tendency to generalize about the Spanish Americans upon the basis of a few village studies and to assume that all Spanish American villages share the same social and cultural patterns. It is the writer's contention that research may well uncover basic differences in the culture and social structure of the villages of the upper Rio Grande Valley, the middle Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico, the northern mountain villages, and the plains villages.

The Spanish Americans brought with them a pattern of village and urban settlement somewhat typical of the Spanish colonizers in many areas of Latin America. A group of settlers would petition the authorities for a grant of land. If the grant was made, each settler received a house and lot in the village, strips of irrigated land along a near-by stream, and the right to graze cattle upon the grant. New settlers were welcome as

long as there was available land. When all the land was occupied, the village leaders then petitioned that the grant be closed to further settlement.[5]

Usually the irrigated land within the grant was held in private ownership while the surrounding range and timber lands became the village commons. Besides the village grants, there were many large grants made to individuals, who either developed them as ranches or sold all or part to settlers wishing to establish villages. The boundaries of all grants were quite vague.[6]

These villages—small, self-sufficient, autonomous social cells—grew up wherever irrigated land could be found. Isolated from each other by Indian raids, distances, and extremely poor means of communication and transportation, each village was forced to rely on its own economic and cultural resources. The feeling of sociopsychological distinctness and isolation still persists as a typical characteristic of the more isolated villages of today.[7] The feuding that takes place among the villages today still attests to this fact.

The Spanish American identified himself very closely with his village. As John H. Burma states, "It was impossible to overemphasize the importance of the home village to the Spanish American."[8] The villages, composed of interrelated extended families, met almost all of the physical, psychological, or social needs of the villagers. The past reluctance, now broken down among the more educated groups of the Spanish Americans, to leave their villages, even at considerable economic loss to themselves, has been notorious.

Huddled for the first several hundred years within the protecting mountain walls of the central Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico, the Spanish Americans, as population increased and the dangers of Indian attacks lessened in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, moved north into southern Colorado, northeast into the valleys of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and southeast and east into the Great Plains.[9]

By the end of the nineteenth century virtually every stream in the northern half of New Mexico and southern Colorado was bordered by long strings of villages. Almost every valley of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains contained its cluster of villages. In the plains, villages developed wherever water, irrigable land, or good grazing could be found. As the Spanish Americans adjusted to their diverse geographical and social environments, inevitably cultural differences arose among the villages. Isolation and lack of social and spatial interaction between different areas augmented these differences.

The villages in the Rio Arriba section of northern New Mexico, settled by small landholders and neglected somewhat by church and state, evolved a different pattern of existence from that of the more patron-dominated villages of the south and the east. Other villages located along such major trade routes as the Chihuahua and the Santa Fe trails diverged from the more isolated mountain villages. The plains villages—open to Indian trade and attack, frequented by American and Canadian trappers, hunters, soldiers, and cowboys—formed different cultural patterns from those of villages farther in the interior.

The villages on or facing the plains seem to have suffered the greatest social disorganization and economic dislocation. Although Congress, within five years after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, confirmed Spanish American rights to five million acres of individual land grants and two million acres of community land grants, the individual land grants by 1930 had shrunk to less than three million acres and the community land grants to around three hundred thousand acres. The ranges and timber lands were first to go. Whenever possible, the Spanish Americans clung to their irrigated land tenaciously.[10]

As a people, the Spanish Americans were utterly unprepared and incapable of securing their land from the attacks of the more competitive, ruthless, and legal-minded Anglo Americans with their newly organized county systems, precise registration of land titles, land taxes, and their rejection of the concept of communal lands. By means of tax sales, fraudulent law suits, and violence acts, the Spanish Americans were deprived of millions of acres. Other large acreages were lost to them through the formation of national forests, land grants to railroads, and the ill-fated homestead act that threw open the public domain to individual homesteads. As these homesteads were gradually abandoned, the land did not revert to the Spanish Americans, but became the property of Anglo merchants and ranchers.[11]

The Spanish Americans have gradually been driven from the plains of eastern New Mexico, southeastern Colorado, and western Texas and Oklahoma. It is not commonly realized that in the middle of the 19th century Spanish American settlements had spread deep into the plains. Unable to hold their own against the Texas cattlemen, they were gradually forced off the plains toward the irrigated lands along the rivers and toward the mountains and valleys of northern New Mexico. Besides the traditional antipathy of the cattlemen toward sheepherders, there existed a deep-rooted contempt and disdain among English-speaking plainsmen toward the Spanish Americans and their land claims. This retreat of the Spanish Americans from the plains still continues. It can

be seen in the areas just south and east of Las Vegas, New Mexico, where a number of villages such as La Liendre, Chaparito, and Trujillo are being observed by neighboring Anglo Texan-owned ranches. Deprived of their lands, the village inhabitants are forced to leave.

The movement of the Spanish Americans from the plains toward the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and the Rio Grande Valley has been accelerated in recent years by three factors. One is the continued decline of the sheep industry, the traditional livestock of the Spanish Americans. The second is the expanding purchase of land by Texan commercial, industrial, and professional interests for summer range and for income tax write-off purposes. The land purchased by these interests is usually not worked to capacity. The Spanish Americans once hired on these ranches before the Texans obtained them are frequently replaced by Anglo cowboys. As large acreages pass into Texan hands, usually absentee owners, the population of the neighboring Spanish American villages shrinks rapidly. The third is the growing migration of Spanish Americans from the villages to industrial cities. This process of population replacement of Spanish by Anglos, and of people by cattle in northeastern New Mexico has gone on almost unnoticed by its scholars and political leaders.

Besides the loss of grazing lands, the Spanish Americans in many areas of the Southwest are now threatened by the loss of their water rights and, indirectly, of their small irrigated farming plots. The continued rise in urban population, the perhaps wistful desire for unlimited industrial expansion, and the subconscious realization that water supplies are quite limited in the Southwest have set into motion demands by urban Anglo groups that industrial and commercial interests should have precedence over farming and ranching interests. Any change in the present pattern of water distribution would bring about a loss of vital water to the Spanish American farming population in the Rio Grande Valley.

The breakdown of the economy of the rural Spanish American village is forcing larger and larger numbers of villagers to migrate to cities, whether they desire to or not. Although in the past the majority of Spanish Americans lived in rural villages, they are now rapidly becoming an urban population. The majority of rural Spanish American migrants move to cities in Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

As they are for the most part unskilled rural workers, they are forced to accept low-paying unskilled employment. This movement to the city, composed of migrants ranging from those fully acculturated to those unacculturated, is intensifying such urban social problems as juvenile delinquency, family breakdown, unemployment, and poverty. This con-

tinued urban movement has yet to be studied, and there are many questions that need to be answered by research.

Some of them are as follows: Are the Spanish Americans preserving their identity in the larger cities or are they finding security by becoming an isolated marginal in-group confirming their relationships to within their neighborhoods? Do they preserve a sense of village identity in the city or is this destroyed? What new associations are they forming to meet their needs, and what changes are taking place in the structure and function of the family and the church? Is their traditional attachment to the Roman Catholic Church weakened by urban residence? To what degree do they join other denominations? What is the effect of acculturation upon personality development? And, finally, what success are they having in climbing up the social ladder in the socioeconomic structure of the cities of the Southwest, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Coast?

In summary, the Spanish Americans are undergoing great social and cultural changes that for the most part are unstudied and unnoticed. They are finally leaving their villages in large numbers and moving to the larger cities. From subsistence farmers they are becoming unskilled urban industrial workers. A culture formed in isolation and remaining remarkably stable for several hundreds of years is finally breaking down under the impact of modern currents of industrialization, urbanization, Anglo migration, and the loss of traditional ways of making a living. For better or for worse, these Spanish Americans are now plunging into the full flow of modern America. There is much here that cries for study and for analysis, such as cultural and economic changes that are transforming all ethnic groups in the Southwest and in neighboring areas.

Such a study would help us acquire needed knowledge to better understand ethnic groups that are now beginning the process of rapid acculturation in the Southwest, such as Pueblos, Apaches, Navajos, and Mexican Americans. The Spanish Americans are natural groups to study, as they can be found in a continuum of acculturation from the almost unacculturated to the completely acculturated to city life.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Irving Telling, "Ramah, New Mexico, 1876-1900; an Historical Episode with Some Value Analysis," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 21:117-36; Evon Z. Vogt, "American Subcultural Continua as Exemplified by the Mormons and Texans," *American Anthropologist*, 57:1163-72, and *Modern Homesteaders: The Life of a 20th Century Frontier Community* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press, 1955); Evon Z. Vogt and Thomas F. O'Dea, "A Comparative Study of the Role of Values in Social Action in Two Southwestern Communities," *American Sociological Review*, 18:645-54.

[2] George I. Sanchez, *Forgotten People* (Albuquerque, N. M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1940); Paul Alfred F. Walter, Jr., "A Study of Isolation and Social Change in Three Spanish-Speaking Villages of New Mexico" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1941); Charles P. Loomis and Olen E. Leonard, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1941); Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Differences and Medical Care* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954); John H. Burma, *Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954); Horacio Ulibarri, *The Effect of Cultural Differences in the Education of Spanish Americans* (Albuquerque, N.M.: The College of Education, University of New Mexico, 1958).

[3] Charles P. Loomis, "El Cerrito, New Mexico: A Changing Village," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 33:53-75; Ulibarri, *op. cit.*

[4] Don Martindale, *American Social Structure* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), pp. 60-61; Margaret Mead, Editor, *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (New York: The New American Library, 1959), pp. 151-77.

[5] Lynn I. Perrigo, *Our Spanish Southwest* (Dallas, Texas: Banks Upshaw and Company, 1960), pp. 79-80; see also Olen E. Leonard, *The Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish American Village in New Mexico* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1943).

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] John H. Burma, *op cit.*, pp. 6-8, 27-28.

[8] *Ibid.* pp. 27-28.

[9] J. Evetts Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas and the Early Days of the Llane Estacado* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), pp. 18-37.

[10] Allan G. Harper, Andrew R. Cordova, and Kalervo Oberg, *Man and Resources in the Middle Rio Grande Valley* (Albuquerque, N.M.: The University of New Mexico Press, 1943), pp. 61-62.

[11] William A. Keleher, "Law of the New Mexico Land Grant," *The New Mexico Historical Review*, 1929, 44:350-71; and F. M. Blackmar, *Spanish Institute of the Southwest* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1891), pp. 327.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS AS AN EDITOR

EMORY S. BOGARDUS
University of Southern California

ABSTRACT

The editorial activities reviewed in this paper (1916-1961) denote a shift in sociological emphasis from qualitative to quantitative research, and a related change from an interest in general concepts to specific ones supported by empirical research, and lending themselves to the development of new systems of sociological thought.

While this paper deals with the experiences of the writer as editor of *Sociology and Social Research*, extending over a span of 45 years, from 1916 to 1961, two background sets of editorial experiences that led up to this long period of editorial work may be briefly noted. On graduation from high school, the writer began work on his home town weekly newspaper[1] and was given the opportunity of writing an editorial a week. This experience stimulated the writer to contribute editorials regularly to the college newspaper at Northwestern University when he became editor in 1906-07 of that publication. In this connection valuable lessons were learned in organizing a rather large staff of desk editors and specialty reporters, and in keeping them working together efficiently, as all were volunteers carrying at the time full loads of classwork.

The aforementioned newspaper experiences were direct stimuli in inaugurating the journal now known as *Sociology and Social Research* at the University of Southern California in 1916. The beginning of this publication took the form of small monographs published quarterly. Although the Department of Sociology was only a year old at this time,[2] there were increasing numbers of indications that a publication outlet for the best studies being made by advanced students in the Department would serve as a continuous stimulus for more and better research studies, and as a reward of merit for commendable work. Hence, a quarterly publication was undertaken with the support of the young Sociological Society of the Department. The number of research studies available for publication soon increased beyond the space in the quarterly publication, and hence it was decided in 1921 to undertake a more comprehensive publication project. The quarterly became a bimonthly, papers from the sociology department of other colleges and universities were accepted, book reviews were regularly included, and a new title, *Journal of Applied Sociology*, was adopted.

In the new title a widespread interest at that time in Lester F. Ward was expressed.[3] By applied sociology Ward meant the development of ideas by research which could be put into operation for effecting desired

social change. His emphasis on telic or purposeful attitudes as a frame of reference for sociology had a dynamic appeal. According to him sociology is primarily interested in social function rather than social structure. It is the work of sociology to develop a body of principles that can be applied through education to the amelioration of social conditions. It is not the role of sociologists to apply sociology but to develop ideas that can be applied by social technicians in the cause of social betterment.

In 1922, the writer sought the favorable interest in and support of leading American sociologists for the new Journal. The response was encouraging, and the first board of "cooperating editors" included a number of men who had served as presidents of the American Sociological Society or who were later to be elected to that position. The first board as announced in the November-December, 1922, issue of the Journal included: Frank W. Blackmar, Ernest W. Burgess, F. Stuart Chapin, James Q. Dealey, Charles A. Ellwood, Franklin H. Giddings, and Edward A. Ross. In 1923 the board was augmented by the addition of Charles H. Cooley, Edward C. Hayes, George Elliot Howard, and James P. Lichtenberger. These men will never know how much their expression of confidence in the Journal meant in those early, pioneering days.

From the beginning of the Journal the writer had thought of sociology as having a world frame of reference. Not only were sociological studies that were made in all countries of the world important, but more significantly, the basic frame of reference for sociology was considered to be the whole human race. As a gesture in this direction a subtitle for the Journal was adopted in 1927, namely, "An International Journal." In the October-November issue of that year, Frances S. Lucas, one of the associate editors, wrote in the Journal: "The cultures and peoples of the world will be our laboratory." The following sociologists from other countries honored the aforementioned resolve by accepting an invitation to become cooperating editors: C. A. Dawson, McGill University, Canada; Leonard T. Hobhouse, University of London; Chiang Liu, St. Johns University, Shanghai; R. Mukerjee, Lucknow University, India; F. S. H. Roussow, Transvaal University, South Africa; Andreas Walther, University of Hamburg, Germany; and F. Znaniecki, University of Poland.

Without funds or appropriate promotion the distribution of the Journal has increased slowly from year to year, beginning with a subscription list limited to Los Angeles and environs. In 1960 a survey showed that the Journal was going regularly to fifty-two countries of the

world in addition to all the states of the United States. A further breakdown of the subscription roll showed that libraries of colleges and universities both at home and abroad rank high as regular subscribers.

Within recent years each issue of the Journal has been microfilmed, thus extending its use. The reading scope of the Journal has been widened in other connections: its articles have been and are being listed and annotated in both the *Sociological Abstracts* and the *Psychological Abstracts*. Another important publicity arm of the Journal has been and is the regular listing of its articles by subject matter and authors in the *International Index to Periodicals*.

In 1916 when the Journal had its beginnings there was only one major sociological journal being published in the United States, *The American Journal of Sociology*. Hence, *Sociology and Social Research* may lay substantial claim to being the second oldest journal of sociology in the United States. Today there are at least a dozen journals of sociology in our country, with various specializations being represented. The competition is sturdy and stimulating, especially in view of the contention that the average sociologist does not subscribe to more than three or four sociological publications.

About one third of each issue of *Sociology and Social Research* throughout the years has been devoted to book reviews. Out of consideration for space factors the reviews have been succinct and to the point. Usually they have concentrated on two important factors: What has the author of each book sought to do and in what major ways has he kept his promise and how has he failed to do so? Underlying these points has been the basic question: What has the author contributed of importance to the science of sociology?

In the limited space which has been assigned in each issue of the Journal to Pacific Sociological Notes, the news items have been limited to colleges and universities on the Pacific Coast and the adjacent Rocky Mountain region facing the Pacific. The aim has been to highlight regularly the Departments of Sociology and to give a bird's-eye view of Pacific Coast sociology in action.

Throughout its 45 years of history the editorial staff of the Journal has been composed of the faculty members of the Department of Sociology of the University of Southern California. For 26 years, from 1934 to 1960, Martin H. Neumeyer of the Department's staff has served efficiently as managing editor, and hence knows the needs and problems of the Journal well. It is logical and deserving that he become the new editor of the Journal, beginning with the October, 1961, issue. The best wishes for new editorial developments under his direction are extended to him by the present editor.

Early in the history of the Journal the editor thought that he might contribute an editorial type of paper to each issue on some significant aspect of sociological development, as a means of helping to personalize the Journal. But this type of paper soon assumed the characteristics of a signed article along with the other signed articles. This procedure has continued in an almost unbroken succession for each issue since December, 1921.

Throughout its history the Journal has received many more manuscripts for publication than it could accept. Had it been twice its size, it could not have met the requests. A few fell too far afield for our Journal. Some were monographic and too long. Others have been acceptable, provided revisions were made.[4] An editorial-reader committee, chiefly from our editorial staff, has been of great assistance, and a majority vote or unanimous report has prevailed. The services of such committees have been invaluable. A difficult problem that the Journal has had to face over the years has been the lack of funds with which to develop new and distinctive ideas and methods.

Another function performed by the editor has been the selecting and arranging of articles for each successive issue of the Journal. The choices have roughly followed the order in which manuscripts have been accepted. The aim also has been to publish a variety of articles in each issue so as to appeal to as many different reader-interests as feasible. Occasionally two or more articles on different aspects of the same subject have been published together. Manuscripts reporting on research projects and those judged to make contributions to sociological theory have been given primary consideration.

Twice in recent years all the articles in a given issue have dealt with the same theme. In the July-August, 1956, issue the entire group of papers reported on "Important Changes in Sociology During the Past Forty Years," and the contributors included Professors E. W. Burgess, F. S. Chapin, J. L. Gillin, F. H. Hankins, W. F. Ogburn, S. A. Queen, P. A. Sorokin, J. F. Steiner, C. C. Taylor, Leopold von Wiese, K. Young, F. Znaniecki. In the July-August, 1958, issue each article treated some aspect of the theme, "Areas of Sociological Research." A special issue of this kind from time to time is desirable, for it enables the reader to examine a variety of contributions, empirical and theoretical, on a given sociological subject with a maximum of convenience.

With the beginning of Volume 45, the Journal returned to its initial form of a quarterly, but upon a much larger scope. Greater opportunity was afforded for the publication of longer articles and of more research materials than was formerly the case.

During the history of *Sociology and Social Research*, the costs of publication (paper, typesetting, printing, folding and assembling, binding, wrapping, mailing) have increased about threefold. Income from subscriptions has increased about twofold, and the difference has been covered by small gifts from various sources. Ten years ago an "Endowment Fund for the Journal of *Sociology and Social Research*" was established by members of the Alpha Chapter of California of Alpha Kappa Delta, the sociology honor society. On the basis of small gifts the Fund now amounts to more than $9,000, but it needs to be greatly increased.

Neither the editor nor any of the cooperating editorial staff have received any financial compensations for their services. This work has been rendered as a labor of love in behalf of sociology as a scientific study that may in one way or another be of benefit at some time to human society. Many routine hours, many perplexing ones, and some creative ones have been involved. No manuscripts have been paid for and no charge has been made to authors, although the publishing space required has run into increasing sums over the years for every page of material involved. Special thanks are due the University of Southern California under whose auspices the Journal has been published and to much help and encouragement received from the University.

Three important questions have been raised from time to time of an editorial nature as follows: (1) What has been the most difficult aspect of being an editor of a social science journal? (2) What would you do differently if you had the editorial work to do over again? (3) What have you enjoyed most during your years of editorial experiences?

(1) The most difficult role that I have had to play as editor has been to explain why certain manuscripts could not be accepted and yet maintain the good will of the authors. As a rule each author thinks that his product ought to be accepted. An author's paper is an aspect of his personality, and to have it returned may be an experience that hurts. If general reasons are given for returning a manuscript, the author is likely to want specifics. If the latter are furnished, the author may disagree and offer a defense, or else the manuscript may later be resubmitted in extended form, but including new problems for the editor.

(2) If I had this long stretch of editorial work to do over again, I would plan more monographic issues with each presenting a different sociological theme from as many different research angles as feasible.

(3) The most enjoyable experience has been to grasp each issue on its appearance from the press, to thumb through its pages, to scan certain articles, and to realize that here is something new under the sun— a

set of contributions by a number of sociologists from different institutions of higher learning who have striven to contribute to the upbuilding of sociology as a social science. Another type of enjoyment has come from beholding a young sociologist[5] who views for the first time his initial break-through into print.

In conclusion, it may be noted that marked changes have occurred in sociological thinking and writing since the beginning of the 45-year span. In the earlier years the emphasis in sociological papers was placed to a certain extent upon qualitative methods, with attention being given to interviewing and life history methods. In the meantime a shift has occurred to a stress on quantitative research procedures. If this journal doubles its age and reaches its 90th year, it is likely that the sociological methods in the year 2006 will be as different from present techniques of research as the currently favored ones vary from those of 1916.

It is not at all certain that mathematical and physical science methods of research in the social sciences will be as prominent in 2006 as they are today. But why not? A major subject of physical science research—the atom—lacks some of the significant characteristics of the major subject matter of sociology, such as personality and the interactions of persons within groups. For example, the atom lacks feelings, sentiments, attitudes, and meanings. This type of subject matter seems to call for more than statistical research similar to that utilized in nuclear physics. Sociological methods in 2006 are likely to retain some qualitative procedures, some quantitative ones, and to add new and important procedures not yet foreseen.

In 1916 another emphasis in sociological articles was on the discussion of general concepts, such as conflict and cooperation, by individual sociologists. By 1961 a shift in emphasis has been made to the reporting on concrete pieces of research involving teamwork and interdisciplinary activities. Attention is also being given today to the ways that interdisciplinary research contributes to the definition of specific social concepts. Some sociological articles today show how empirically supported concepts may contribute to the building up of new systems of sociological thought.

An increasing percentage of manuscripts is coming from research projects being conducted under the aegis of government-supported institutions and privately operated business concerns, as well as from sociological laboratories in universities. There is also a noticeable increase of sociological data being gathered that are available for the use of social and welfare workers. While sociology has shown interesting

developments in the past 45 years, the next 45 years may be expected to produce more meaningful developments than the past has known in diagnosing the nature of interpersonal and intergroup relations.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The *Belvidere* (Illinois) *Standard*.

[2] In 1915, the sociology courses being offered under the heading of Economics and Sociology at the University of Southern California served as a basis for establishing the Department of Sociology, thanks to the courtesy and recommendation of Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt, the head of the aforementioned Economics and Sociology Department, and to the approval of Dr. George Finley Bovard, President of the University.

[3] See Lester F. Ward, *Applied Sociology* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1906).

[4] Some manuscripts have lacked footnote references to authorities, while others may be "overfootnoted."

[5] An advanced graduate student in sociology.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Beginning with the forthcoming October number of *Sociology and Social Research*, Volume 46, Number 1, Martin H. Neumeyer, managing editor of this Journal for the past thirty-four years, becomes editor, while Emory S. Bogardus continues as book review editor. The experiences of the latter as editor of this sociological publication since its inception in 1916 in the form of small quarterly monographs are described in this issue under the caption of "Forty-five Years as Editor," an article which supplements one published in this Journal, July, 1956, entitled "Forty Years of *Sociology and Social Research*." Thomas E. Lasswell continues as managing editor.

BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

THE CHILD AND SOCIETY—THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION. By Frederick Elkin. New York: Random House, 1960, pp. xxi+100.

The sociology student who wishes a brief outline of socialization in modern society, or the traveler who wants a complete nontechnical course in sociology while he makes a flight, or the once-upon-a-time student of sociology who needs a refresher course in the concepts of sociology will find this small paper-bound book by Elkin of McGill University surprisingly useful.

The language is understandable by "him who reads" and yet there is a quantity of sociological and psychological concepts. Defining socialization as the process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group so that he can function within it, the author limits his study to one that excludes social origins, uniqueness of individuals, and the influence of basic drives. Under preconditions for socialization he sets forth (1) the ongoing society viewed from the perspective of values, status, institutions, social class, ethnic group, and social change; (2) a requisite biological inheritance; and (3) human nature.

His chapter on the process of socialization is approached from the social role theory, though he presents in discussion views of psychoanalysis and psychological learning theory. Maturation, the behavior of significant others and development of self, he gives as the factors in the process of socialization.

Elkin sets forth the family, the school, the peer group, and the media of mass communication as the agencies of socialization from which the

child learns a particular cultural content. His discussion of the relation of subcultural patterns to socialization deals with social class as a way of life, ethnic groups with varying "progression in status" through two or three generations, and the suburban life of today. The author concludes with the philosophy that socialization continues through life, using many illustrations. Partial socialization and "reality shock" are presented as problems of adult socialization.

Covering a topic of such wide implications in such a short space means that there can be a minimum of creative thought expressed, and statements must be given without too much explanation. One may question a few of the generalizations and classifications, but the book is an interesting and readable attempt to present socialization in "capsule" form to the general public.   PEARL E. CLARK
                                        Chaffey College

CONSUMER'S COOPERATION IN GERMANY. By Erwin Hasselmann.
    Third Edition. Hamburg: Verlagsgesellschaft Deutscher Konsumgenos-
    senschaften, 1961, pp. 72.

The first edition of this treatise was published in 1953. This edition brings the first and second up to date "not only as regards figures and facts but also as to the changes in the attitude of the movement on the background of changing conditions." Many people do not understand that cooperatives are self-help institutions as distinguished from public-help ones, that they are "the freest form of free enterprise," and that they are based on private property ownership and not on collective ownership. The "come-back" of the cooperatives in West Germany since World War II when they were throttled to death by totalitarianism is remarkable. Today they have a splendid cooperative school near Hamburg, they speak for all consumers, they criticize "all measures of economic policy affecting the consumers" of West Germany. In East Germany the cooperatives have lost their autonomy, and their main political actions are "ordered and directed by the Communist Party and its instrument, the State," and hence, should no longer be called cooperatives. In West Germany the cooperatives are free and constitute "a unifying democratic force within the body politic."

Excellent photographs of cooperative enterprises are included and likenesses of the leaders of the cooperatives in West Germany add to the interesting features of this book. A four-page chronological table showing the development and trends of the cooperative movement in West Germany increases the value of this treatise.   E.S.B.

VOICES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. Edited by John Bowditch and Clement Ramsland. Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Paperbacks, The University of Michigan Press, 1961, pp. xvii+187.

From the voices of the past emerge fruitful discussions on the social changes wrought by the period of the so-called Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century and that still have profound meaning for the social changes facing a twentieth-century world. The economic and social issues as viewed by Quesnay, Smith, Bentham, Malthus, Ricardo, Saint Simon, Owen, and Marx are offered here through a finely chosen selection of some of their most trenchant writings. For good measure, such poets as Tennyson, Clough, Hood, and Pottier (composer of the "International") are presented by means of their poetic lines singing of social protest. The Manifesto of the Communist Party by Marx and Engels is the concluding essay, and the final paragraphs may still sound a note of warning: "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." Probably this sounds more fanatical now than in 1848. No one "can comprehend the ideological conflict of our time without reference to the founders of Liberal Economics and Socialism," write the editors, and their compilation makes this essential task an easy one.   M.J.V.

UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WELFARE. By Bernice Madison. San Francisco: Rosenberg Foundation, 1960, pp. 145+xiv.

This study represents one of a series of efforts to meet the need for a sufficient number of trained personnel in the field of social services. It proposes an undergraduate social welfare curriculum in the liberal arts tradition. Recommendations of various state and private bodies aided in the implementing of this study, along with the financial assistance of the Rosenberg Foundation. Eighty-five items that were selected by the critical incidence method and viewed as requirements of the caseworker position in public assistance and child welfare were taken from a study by Irving Weissman and Mary R. Baker. These items were evaluated in proposing the curriculum set forth in this study. The suggested curriculum calls for the development of abilities in the cognitive and affective domains and the training of the student in the three major processes of understanding, valuing, and performing in four major content areas, namely, (1) the person as a social role performer, (2) the group member as a social role performer, (3) society's provisions for meeting the problems encountered by social role performers, and (4) the

profession, including the helping process, whose goal is the enhancement of social functioning wherever the need for such enhancement is either socially or individually perceived. The author suggests that the learning experience provides three major structured environments: lecture and class discussion, observation, and participation. A curriculum for the four-year liberal arts college is proposed and techniques for its evaluation are given.

In addition to the above this study makes a real contribution in two discussions entitled "The Nature of Social Work" and "The Nature of Social Work Education," given in the appendices. Persons interested in the development or improvement of social education at the four-year liberal arts college level may advantageously use this excellent study as a reference guide.   WOODROW W. SCOTT
George Pepperdine College

INDUSTRIALIZATION IN ALEXANDRIA. Some Ecological and Social Aspects. By Hassan El Santy and Gordon K. Hirabayashi. Cairo: Social Research Center, American University at Cairo, 1959, pp. 197.

In the Foreword, John H. Provinse points out that this book devotes itself to two major problems, namely, (1) How has Alexandria regenerated itself from a seaport hamlet into a thriving commercial center in the past century? and (2) How have the migrant workers from the rural Delta and other rural areas of Egypt "come to terms with industrial work and urban living demands"?

In answering these questions the authors have marshaled large quantities of pertinent data, presented many tables, and offered several charts and figures (five appendices). Some of the specific topics that are discussed are: ecological analysis of Alexandria, spatial patterning of Alexandria, internal structure of Alexandria. These themes lead up to the description of a special field study of the industrial workers in Alexandria and of the related industrialization of them. This study is extensive and gives special data on married workers, their economic behavior, and their leisure-time activities. Data are given concerning the reasons for migrating to Alexandria, data concerning lodging, education, budgeting, marriage and the family, attitudes toward birth control.

Among the general conclusions is the statement that "the process of urbanization is making favorable inroads toward a more capable, useful, and adaptable industrial labor force." This monograph is an outstanding factual piece of research. More like it are needed of other large cities in the Near East. More sociopsychological information would add to the value of this document.   E.S.B.

THE SQUEEZE: Cities Without Space. By Edward Higbee. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1960, pp. 348.

The Squeeze is a provocative book on land utilization. Its materials are not new to sociologists, but the format, the style, and pungent criticisms add urgency for "better organization of space for residence, for pleasure, and for business" that "is absolutely imperative if the rising tides of population are not to make shambles of the metropolitan habitat." The author is skillful in lacing together a number of dramatic topics with selected quotations, statistics, case studies, and reports.

Dr. Higbee, author of *American Oasis*, an agronomist and geographer, deals not only with Urban Space, Suburbia, programs and principles of control, but with Farm on the Urban Fringe. He calls attention to the loss of farms "to suburbanization and other developmental pressures," misused land, congestion, and "licensed inefficiency." Chapters 8, 9, and 10 deal with Space and Circulation, Parks and Playgrounds, and Covering the Waterfront, respectively. He equates highway construction with "highway robbery," and the butchering of the landscape. Los Angeles is cited as "a model of things to come." Space Between the Ears deals with an educated citizenry to meet the challenge of urban life, and the last chapter, Preventive Engineering, develops the author's hope and way to allay the "squeeze."

Throughout the book, Dr. Higbee urges and counsels proper and long-range planning, the prevention of land cannibalism, and the checking of forces and programs that pollute and hinder the good life in the modern urban world. He is not optimistic, for he asserts that it would require "an intellectual and cultural miracle to meet the problems created by *The Squeeze*." He appeals to the people and preventive engineers to guide and to enforce the proper use of land and resources.

RILEY H. PITTMAN
Central Missouri State College

THE FAMILY, SOCIETY, AND THE INDIVIDUAL. By William M. Kephart. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961, pp. xxiii+690.

A wide variety of subjects is discussed. The book is designed as a comprehensive introductory textbook on the sociology of the family. It is particularly important for courses in which the institutional aspects of family life are stressed. After an introductory discussion of the importance of the study of the family, the author devotes two sections (seven chapters) to historical factors and American family patterns. A knowledge of the historical background of the American family is essential for a thorough understanding of current conditions. During recent

years the institutional aspects of the family have been neglected in text-
books on family life.

In the remainder of the book the author examines and describes
succinctly premarital behavior patterns, including mate selection, dating
behavior, romantic love, and sex codes; marital interaction, particularly
sex factors and marital adjustment, also parent-child interaction; and
family disorganization, notably desertion and divorce. The concluding
chapter is devoted to items pertaining to the conservation and integration
of family values. While certain practical aspects are stressed, the major
concern is the presentation of the basic data pertaining to the family,
derived chiefly from controlled research. Meyer F. Nimkoff states in
the Editor's Introduction that "this book will appeal to those teachers
of functional courses who want an effective theoretical frame of reference
and who are willing to sacrifice attention to some practical problems like
housing and budgeting in order to get it." The major thesis is that the
problems of the family often constitute a conflict between individual
needs and societal requirements. Even though such items as sexual factors
may be overstressed, on the whole the material is well-balanced and
systematically organized.   M.H.N.

SOCIAL CLIMATES IN HIGH SCHOOLS. By James S. Coleman with
    assistance of K. Jonassohn and J. Johnstone. Washington, D.C.: U.S.
    Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1961, pp. 75.

The interesting and socially vital theme of this study is "the problems
of status systems that operate in high schools and how these status
systems positively or negatively affect" achievements of the high school
students. The author, who is a member of the sociology faculty at Johns
Hopkins University, makes suggestions for channeling "the influence of
the status systems" toward more positive academic achievements "at the
high school level."

A significant definition of adolescents today is given: "tightly-knit
communities of semi-adults, ready for responsibile action if given respon-
sibility but determined to act in any case." More emphasis is urged on
interschool competition in debate, mathematics, and so on, and less
emphasis on awards to individuals. The winners in the first-mentioned
type of competition win status because of the glory that they bring, not
to themselves, but to the school. An unusual action was recently taken
when the city council of Haifa, Israel, voted $250,000 not "to establish
teenage centers or to help teenagers by combatting juvenile delinquency,"
but "to be used responsibly by the adolescents themselves for civic im-
provements."   E.S.B.

NEGLECTED AREAS IN FAMILY LIVING. By Thomas Earl Sullenger.
   Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1961, x+447.

This book of fifty readings and articles on various topics is designed
chiefly for the general reader, although it can well be used for supple-
mentary reading in a course on marriage and the family. The main
purpose of this compilation of material is to acquaint the reader with
neglected aspects of the family. While some of the selections are taken
from fairly well-known books, most of the material is from magazines.
The major topics include marital happiness, family rituals and meals,
household pets, family councils, ways of intracommunication, role chang-
ing, emotional security, and family changes. The author has added an
introduction to each chapter to state the main emphasis of the articles
and their significance for a better understanding of what goes on in
family living today. The selected readings and articles were written by
persons who, in the author's opinion, have the know-how of discussing
vital subjects in an interesting and informative manner.   M.H.N.

DRUGS AND BEHAVIOR. Edited by Leonard Uhr and James G. Miller.
   New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960, pp. xix+676.

Edited by a research psychologist (Uhr) and a psychiatrist who is
head of the Mental Health Research Institute of the University of
Michigan (Miller), this volume turns out to be a serious but fascinat-
ingly interesting series of articles on the linkage between those drugs
listed as psychoactive and human behavior. Public interest and the need
of many for so-called tranquilizers owing perhaps in part to the incidence
of anxiety, agitation, and tension caused by a competitive overactive
economy indicate the necessity and usefulness of a broad scientific inquiry
into the subject such as is offered herein.

Psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, psychopharmacologists, neurolo-
gists, and medical men are the principal contributors to the fifty-one
articles, which are grouped under two major headings: "The Methodo-
logical, Chemical, Biological and Clinical Context for Psychopharma-
cology," and "Experimental Procedures and Results." The significance of
the effects of alcohol and some drugs on human behavior has been known
for ages, but Uhr and Miller write: "Now we have the beginning of a
reversible chemical surgery by which we can compare behavioral effects
with the molecular structures of the drugs which bring them about and,
by altering these structures, delve into the biochemistry of action and
experience." A great new vista into the dynamics of behavior may have
been opened, one which may yield "clues to possible physiological and

biochemical malfunctions" underlying many mental diseases. A significant statement regarding the lack as yet of the development of an over-all conceptual system needed to bring about the alignment of biochemical, physiological, and pharmacological facts with the behavioral and psycho-dynamic is the following: . . . "attempts at such integrative conceptual systems appear to arise more comfortably from Europeans or those trained in Europe than from Americans, who are still apparently bathed in America's pragmatic empiricism."

A few titles of the articles may be cited here to show the general tenor of both the theoretical groundwork and the experimental research studies presented. These are: Drugs and Human Information Process-ing: Perception, Cognition, and Response (Miller), Drug Thresholds as Indicators of Personality and Affect (Shagass), Behavioral Methods for Assessing Neuroses and Psychoses (Vandenberg), Objectively Meas-ured Behavioral Effects of Psychoactive Drugs (Uhr), and The Dimen-sional (Unitary-Compound) Measurement of Anxiety, Excitement, Effort Stress, and Other Mood Reaction Patterns (Cattell). All of this is an exciting adventure in the further essential exploration of one of the facets of the phenomenon of human behavior.   M.J.V.

IN PLACE OF FOLLY. By Norman Cousins. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961, pp. 224.

The editor of *Saturday Review* states his purpose in writing this book to be that of showing how in place of folly and war and destruction of civilization, there can be safety, freedom, sanity, and purpose in the world. The world is seen as being in a crisis of power without adequate control of it. The making of an atomic bomb was not a fatal error but what we did with it "after we made it, that was a mountainous blunder." Why didn't we "at least demonstrate its power in a test under the aus-pices of the U.N.," and then issue an ultimatum to Japan, thus placing the responsibility for its use on Japan?

The fallacy of arming as a basis for security is noted, namely, "one nation's deterrent becomes the other nation's incentive" for further arming. Perhaps the only chance that a nation has today for protecting itself against destruction is "through the development of a common security." There is no point in mutual disarmament unless "something is done to eliminate the original tensions or areas of insecurity."

It is suggested that national security depends "on a world organiza-tion with adequate power to exercise workable control of the destructive weapons, cope with tensions that could lead to conflict, provide a basis for justice in the complex dealings of nations, attack the basic causes of

war, and set up an instrumentality for peace." Within this framework
the author sets the conditions, as he sees them, for developing an adequate
world organization that would leave national sovereignty unaffected
save in the one particular of the current trend toward the destruction of
all nations. He hopes that the members of the General Assembly of a
U.N. would "come to think of themselves as representing not only their
countries but the entire world community." The author needs to write
another book discussing the educational procedures needed in the various
countries of the world for achieving the needed goal.   E.S.B.

**MAN AND LEISURE: A Philosophy of Recreation. By Charles K. Brightbill.
Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961, pp. xii+292.**

As the subtitle indicates, the author attempts to present a philosophy
of recreation, especially in relation to the total life. It is mainly a dis-
course of ideas about leisure and recreation gleaned from personal obser-
vation and readings. It is not a report of research, nor is it an attempt
to present a systematic report of research findings. There is some con-
tinuity of thought running through the book, but a wide range of topics
are discussed, including labor, automation, prosperity, religion, respecta-
bility, beauty or boredom, learning, health, freedom, and social position.
These are related to leisure and to man's total life experience. Recreation
is regarded as a road to learning, personality development, health, and a
more abundant life.   M.H.N.

**WORKING WITH GROUPS. By Walter M. Lifton. New York: John Wiley
& Sons, Inc., 1961, ix+238.**

Techniques for working with groups are carefully presented and
evaluated by an author who has had considerable experience in com-
mittee and conference enterprise. Group dynamic roles are reviewed as
ways of attempting to identify, select, and solve common problems.

The author feels that (1) to help people in a group we need to start
with their perception of the situation; (2) help is most useful if it is
initially directed toward the problem causing an individual or group the
most immediate concern; (3) individuals and groups have an innate
capacity to heal themselves; (4) as an individual or group is helped to
feel more secure, the need to shut out unwanted bits of information
decreases; (5) and, finally, a new perception today can cause all past
experiences to have a new and different meaning. Lifton feels that the
group may liberate as well as control the individual.   E.C.M.

COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN NORWAY. A General Survey. Oslo, Norway: The Publication Committee of the Royal Agricultural Society of Norway, 1960, pp. 69.

The four major sections of the cooperative movement in Norway, namely, agriculture, consumer goods retailing, fishing, and home construction, are reviewed briefly, in terms of both their history and their current status. Statistics are brought up to and including 1958 in most instances. The report shows that considerable progress has been made by the cooperatives in the past decade. While the financing and legislative aspects of the cooperative movement are given, data are missing concerning the educational activities of the cooperatives and of the cooperative college in Norway. A summary and an index would have been added useful features.   E.S.B.

DRUG ADDICTION: Crime or Disease? By the Joint Committee of the American Bar Association and the American Medical Association on Narcotic Drugs. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961, pp. 175.

Alfred R. Lindesmith, who wrote the Introduction, thinks that this report may well be a landmark in the history of the drug problem in this country. Obviously, a considerable amount of study was involved in the preparation of the report. The report by Morris Ploscowe is devoted to some of the basic problems in drug addiction and some suggestions are made for research. The report by Rufus King is an appraisal of international treaties and agreements designed to control the narcotic traffic, and the systems of control as they exist in Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, and Italy. This comparative study makes it possible to get an overview of the systems of control used in the United States and selected foreign countries.

                                                          M.H.N.

THE PROMISE OF WORLD TENSIONS. Edited by Harlan Cleveland. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961, pp. xvii+157.

Among the twelve contributors to this book and hence to a conference held in 1960 at the University of Chicago are the following: Ralph Bunche, Paul G. Hoffman, Lester B. Pearson, Adlai E. Stevenson. Among the topics discussed are: Toward a "Rule of Law" Community, Agenda for Economic Development, Ends and Means of Communication, the Tensions of Inequality (two cases), Science—the Only Common Enterprise, Some Actions for Peace.

Noteworthy is the paper by Adlai E. Stevenson in which he points out that we are today living in "a world-wide human community" that does not enjoy "the safeguards of a civilized society." In our foreign policies "we do not pursue the general welfare" but "our separate national interests and hope that the selfish good of the part will add up, against the witness of all social history, to the wider good of the whole." Although we need a world under law, we primarily "seek national security or, in simpler terms, to stop the Russians." If we will dramatize by deed as well as by word "the common interests of humanity," the belief "will spread through the world that the Western peoples are profoundly and permanently committed to the survival and dignity of man." No longer can we be content "to keep our political thinking within the narrow bonds of class or race or nation."

Editor Harlan Cleveland urges that we "make freedom worth while" wherever we extend our influence, that we work toward "making the free world hum with expanding opportunity and growing hope," that we bend our efforts toward "building international and regional institutions for cooperative action," and that we act on "our national purposes with imagination and vigor." These sample proposals indicate that the conference under review must have had a strong forward look.

E.S.B.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

THE HINDU FAMILY IN ITS URBAN SETTING. By Aileen D. Ross. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961, pp. xiv+325.

The Hindu joint family is facing a crisis. Far-reaching social and economic effects of industrialization and urbanization are creating new strains and tensions in this institution. Although it eminently suited a simple, stable, agricultural society, it has become more or less anachronistic in a technological age that places a premium on individualism, initiative, mobility, and change—attributes that joint family determinedly discourages.

The conflicts attendant on family change have been analyzed by Aileen Ross mainly within the substructures of the members' rights, duties, sentiments, power, and authority. She discusses the features and functions of this hoary and complicated institution and goes on to examine the factors and forces that are breaking it down. Male-female and parent-child relationships are changing at a fast and furious pace, but the father is still far from being the "forgotten man."

For a foreigner, who stayed only for a year in India, the author displays remarkable knowledge of the Hindu family. She draws heavily on the works of other students of the extended family. The methodology, however, is loose. The study is based on interviews with 157 middle and upper-middle class Hindus, 110 of whom were Brahmins, in Bangalore, a South Indian city. It is doubtful, therefore, if any broad generalizations are justifiable. Similarly, the rambling discussion of problems like student nondiscipline and unemployment among the educated do not enhance the readability of this lucid and useful book. Significant legislative enactments like the Special Marriage Act and the Hindu Succession Act have inexplicably been omitted. The author explains that she does not attempt to give a more than superficial understanding of the complex problem of the interrelationship of the substructures that form the Hindu family system. And she is right. SHANTI K. KHINDUKA

Lucknow University

BERLIN IN VERGANGENHEIT UND GEGENWART. Edited by Hans Rothfels. Tuebingen, Germany: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1961, pp. vi+158.

This volume contains ten lectures by ten social scientists, most of whom are "Southern Germans," i.e., traditionally and chauvinistically anti-North and "anti-Berlin" oriented. Yet, their sociological and anthropological explorations of Berlin are scholarly based and lack bias. For instance, Klaus Ziegler discusses the "Society in Berlin'" and its changes (due to wars, migration, resettlement, etc.) in the course of six centuries. Dieter Pohmer speaks of Berlin's economic problems, the city having been the largest in Germany and on the Continent up to World War II. He stresses that there were three components that made Berlin the most important city, namely, the city's economic and geographic location "in the heart of Germany and Europe"; and, based hereon, its central points of traffic for all rails, planes, and highways, the city's character as the capital of Germany; and its labor potential. Other authors speak of Berlin as a cultural center, as the city with a university which just celebrated its 150th anniversary, a city with its beautiful architecture, and with a population that created many an artist and that "demanded" many places for opera, theatre, and *Kleinkunst*. The editor feels that the city has become a "symbol" for the partition of Germany, even a symbol for the *Zweiteilung* (split) of the two worlds. For the sociologist, there is much material in this modest monograph, some of which was taken from sociologists, not represented here, such as Herzfeld, Schultze, and Dietrich. HANS A. ILLING

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN RHO-
        DESIA. By Franklin Parker. Columbus: The Ohio State University
        Press, 1960, pp. xiii+165.

This Kappa Delta Pi publication is exceedingly timely, for Southern
Rhodesia is rapidly coming before the attention of the world. The author
has made a firsthand study of real importance historically, educationally,
and racially of a country which is striving to avoid the problems of
apartheid by moving gradually in the direction of partnership. In addi-
tion to giving a brief political history of Rhodesia, the author outlines
the educational development of the country. The latter subject is supple-
mented by a report of the "present structure of African education," and
by an interesting account of "a visit to a village school."

Many significant generalizations are made. Three samples will be
given. (1) "The theory of separate, segregated, or parallel development
tends to break down under the economic needs of a modern state."
(2) "The stridently nationalistic Africans, seeing no possibility of
peacefully securing justice and opportunity," seek to obtain political
control, but if they should do so, "the white man will have to either
leave or to stay on their terms." (3) There is widespread opinion among
white people in Southern Rhodesia that "the African must be brought
along or the high level of their own life will be brought down."

                                                                    E.S.B.

PUL ELIYA—A VILLAGE IN CEYLON: A Study of Land Tenure and
        Kinship. By E. R. Leach. New York: Cambridge University Press,
        1961, pp. xiv+343.

This book is an attempt by the author to shed light on the issues of
land tenure and the kinship relation in a tiny village in Ceylon. The
history and ecology of the village and the main features of administration
affecting the village life of Pul Eliya are dealt with in the first two
chapters. In the following four chapters the social behavior, cultural
patterns, and the historical events related to land tenure and kinship are
carefully investigated and analyzed in a most fascinating manner. The
ownership, use, and transfer of land from one generation to the next
are demonstrated with the aid of a number of well-organized tables,
maps, and charts. On the subject of kinship, for example, the author
points out that two individuals can only be said to be of the same kinship
group if some common interests such as economic, legal, political, re-
ligious, and the like are shared.

In dealing with the marriage customs it is noted that, except in the
course of a formal marriage rite in Pul Eliya, men and women do not

eat together in public, since sharing of food is taken as symbolic of sexual intercourse, which is barely distinguished from marriage itself. Pul Eliya society is not governed by any general structural principles such as have been claimed to prevail in other types of societies possessing unilineal descent systems. The author contends that Pul Eliya society is an ordered society, the order being of a statistical and not the legal kind. The concluding chapter is devoted to the author's own rationalizations regarding the findings in this study, emphasizing that his objectives were "those of a social anthropologist, not of a geographer"; and that he "sought to demonstrate that the notion of 'structural relationship' is not merely an abstraction which an anthropologist uses as a paradigm to simplify his problems of description." The author obviously knows how to make his knowledge meaningful; his book is an excellent social-anthropological study.

HOUSHANG POORKAJ
Youth Studies Center
University of Southern California

MAN TAKES CONTROL: CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND AMERI-
CAN AID. By Charles J. Erasmus. Minneapolis: University of Min-
nesota Press, 1961, pp. viii+365.

The United States is giving massive aid to the developing countries of the world. The recipients, however, have not always been grateful, nor, they feel, have the givers been always graceful. This should not shock us, nor should the bureaucracy, coercion, and the exploitation in these countries. For, argues Dr. Erasmus, these are the inevitable consequences of change in the preindustrial societies.

The underdeveloped society is a dual society. It is both open and closed. Here the past and the future are juxtaposed. It represents the coexistence of ages. Wants are few; resources and opportunities are fewer still. Conspicuous giving, as against conspicuous ownership and conspicuous production, is the predominant way of achieving higher status.

Helping these emerging nations is sound strategy. It is healthy leadership. It is altruism, self-interest, diplomacy. But help should be properly planned. Technical assistance should be the first priority. The author believes that programs of rural community development are unrealistic; welfarism may become the vehicle for graft and corruption.

Such help sets in motion a process of cultural change. One object of this book on applied anthropology, therefore, is to discuss the anatomy of this process and to formulate a scheme of cultural change. The process of cultural change is anthropomorphous, not simply anthropomorphic.

Erasmus criticizes the concept of cultural determinism. Man's motivation and cognition, he asserts, are the active agents of cultural causality.

One weakness of *Man Takes Control* is its somewhat grandiloquent title. The synonymous use of "want" and "felt need" is a little confusing. Also, a primitive economy does not necessarily mean cultural backwardness. However, it is a topical work. Many of its suggestions are realistic. It will be useful for foreign aid experts. Social scientists should find it particularly interesting, as it is they who have to act as social cost accountants.   S. K. KHINDUKA
Lucknow University

SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

LES CONSEILS OUVRIERS EN POLOGNE. By André Babeau. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1960, pp. x+309.

This work is in the series *Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques* and describes the development of workers' councils in Poland, with special reference to the period following 1956. The introduction includes historical data beginning with the first World War, as well as providing more recent material pertaining to various totalitarian regimes from China to Eastern Germany. In particular, the book traces the triumph of the councils in the aftermath of the June and October "revolutions" of 1956 and in the critical months following these upheavals. Apparently the growing strength of the councils became a threat to party leaders, and the author recounts how a type of subordination of the councils was effected by April, 1958.

The book is largely historical in presentation. However, there is an examination of various hypotheses regarding the structure and function of workers' councils against a background of size and growth figures, of formal and informal organization, of political and economic models, of moderates and extremists. There is extensive discussion of production norms, price controls, profit sharing, and strikes and layoffs. Refreshingly, the author reports some recent and relative Polish sociological research, which is distinguished in comparison with sociological endeavors of certain other Eastern European countries. Also, the author is to be complimented for his apparent objectivity and far-reaching documentation. It is hardly a criticism to mention that the book is fairly limited in appeal to the Slavic-oriented economist and historian, or to the industrial sociologist. For the general sociologist, the work is more in the nature of a footnote.   ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
National University of Colombia

TELEVISION IN THE LIVES OF OUR CHILDREN. By Wilbur Schramm,
Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker. Stanford; Stanford University Press,
1961, pp. ix+324.

This book represents three years of research on the way television
operates in the lives of children. It is the most comprehensive study yet
made. A total of 6,000 children were studied, and information was
obtained from 2,300 parents, teachers, and school officials. The only study
comparable to it is the research of 4,500 children reported in *Television
and the Child* by Himmelweit, Oppenheim, and Vince, published in
1958 in the United Kingdom. In reporting the findings of a series of
studies, both in the United States and Canada, the authors begin with
a consideration of the part played by television in the lives of children.
This is followed by a series of chapters in which basic facts of research
are presented pertaining to the way children use television, what they use
it for, what they learn from it, reality seeking and social norms, tele-
vision and social relationships, and the effects of certain television pro-
grams. A short summary presents the gist of the findings, which is
followed by a hundred pages of tables in nine appendices, also a selected
annotated bibliography.

The research findings do not substantiate the claim that television is
either good or bad for children. The relationship is between a kind of
television program and a kind of child in a specific situation. Behind
the child there are other important relationships, notably with the family
and friends, school and church. For most children, under most conditions,
most television programs are neither particularly beneficial nor especially
harmful. For some children, under some conditions, certain television
programs may be either beneficial or harmful.

No mass media have ever developed so fast and reached so many people
as television. Within a span of a little over ten years the number of
television receivers in the United States increased from 100,000 to over
50 million. People rearranged their lives in the 1950's to accommodate
television in the home; the rearrangement has been most striking in the
homes with children. Television has become an important source of
entertainment, displacing to a considerable extent time devoted to radio
listening, movie going, comic book and pulp magazine reading; and, to
a lesser extent, time for play and sleeping. The children's taste for tele-
vision proceeds rather quickly from the so-called "children's" programs
to Westerns, adventure and crime shows, popular music and variety
shows, and other programs that are chiefly for adults. Children are
greatly interested in television and use it for entertainment and escape,

and to some extent for information. The chief needs for which children turn to television seem to be fantasy and reality experiences. Learning is more incidental, but children with average intelligence who are heavy viewers have greater vocabularies than light viewers.

Mental ability, age and sex, social norms and relationships are the main variables in a child's life to help predict what use he may make of television. Various physical, emotional, cognitive, and behavioral effects of television have been noted. Under certain circumstances television may teach violence and contribute to delinquent behavior, but this depends upon the child, the circumstances, and related factors. In the closing section, the authors direct a number of questions to broadcasters, parents, schools, and the government. Even though this study was comprehensive in scope, the research questions indicate that there are many items which need further study.   M.H.N.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR: Its Elementary Forms. By George Caspar Homans. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961., pp. 404.

This book reveals a nicely written account by an expert of a task undertaken so as to focus critical thought on the actual behavior of individuals in direct contact with each other, or what the author designates as elementary social behavior. This kind of behavior under scrutiny is to be distinguished from behavior which occurs because of a person's obedience to the formal rules and norms of an organization or society, and from that which explains why roles have come to be what they are. Instead, the explanation attempted here is to discover the variations in role performance. Incidentally, Homans now believes that the name, small groups, is misleading since "small groups are not what we study but where we study it." In his book on *The Human Group*, he states that he "did not try to explain much of anything," while in this present book he "will at least try to explain." As the foundation for his discourse, "empirical propositions from *The Human Group* and a large number of other experimental and field studies" have been utilized and references made to "two bodies of general propositions" gathered from behavioral psychology and elementary economics.

From the research evidence anent elementary social behavior in experimental social situations, certain findings may be selected here for reporting: (1) when a person interacts more often with another, the more valuable is the other's activity for him, and "the higher is the degree of social approval he gives"; (2) "the larger the number of members that conform to a norm, the larger the number that express approval for other members"; (3) "people who compete with one

another are in a position to deprive one another of rewards, and the withdrawal of a reward stimulates the emotional reactions of hostility and aggression"; (4) conformity to the norms of a group is not enough to secure high esteem but one must provide services for others that they cannot obtain easily elsewhere; (5) "congruence facilitates social ease in the interaction among men"; and (6) as the "leader's authority gets recognized and established, it becomes more and more incongruent with that social equality with his followers which we call familiarity." These are generally obvious, but methodological procedures have confirmed them. Some critics may call this nice indulgence in a "five-finger" exercise.

With these and other findings, there is certification that the general proposition—social behavior is a continuous process of members influencing other members—is true. Homans has provided some excellent materials lending themselves toward a more adequate understanding of elementary social behavior and which may be a step toward comprehending more about complex behavior processes. The book ends with a single field study illustrating how certain general propositions made throughout the book apply in particular to the behavior of people in a selected industrial concern. Homans, too, has chosen to write in an "elementary behavior" style which serves to bring about a good rapport between author and reader.   M.J.V.

COMPLEX ORGANIZATION: A Sociological Reader. Edited by Amitai Etzioni. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961, pp. ix+497.

The general area of social organization is an intriguing one for sociologists because of the broad possibilities for theoretic and empirical research, no matter what the special interest of the researcher. Therefore, Etzioni's work should have wide appeal.

The book includes both previously published studies and those heretofore unpublished, arranged under the general headings of Toward a Theory of Organization, Organizational Theory Applied, Organizational Goals, Organizational Structures, Organization and Society, Organizational Change, and Methods for the Study of Organizations. This framework provides for a broad survey of the type of work being done in the area, and further, the selections themselves reflect in their content the wide perspective of the field.

The major weakness of the book is one which is evident in all works of this type—its lack of depth. The reader's interest will probably just be stimulated in a given section when the book moves on to another. This, of course, is also a strong point. Since depth is impossible in a reader

such as this, its primary function must be to act as a stimulus and to present intriguing articles which may promote sets of hypotheses for future research. This, the work does in admirable manner. The articles themselves are of generally high quality including both widely known and lesser known works. Although it is difficult with so provocative a book as this to select sections for special mention, still Gouldner's comments on "Metaphysical Paths and the Theory of Bureaucracy" would seem to deserve special mention. Also, Etzioni's continuum which organizes the section concerning Organizational Structures should prove of interest. These are only two of a series of distinguished contributions, including works by Weber, Barnard, Parsons, Merton, Sykes, Selznick, Lazarsfeld and Menzel, and Cressey, to name only a few of the authors of the thirty-nine articles included in the book. All in all, the work should prove to be a valuable addition to the libraries of scholars and students alike.   HAROLD A. NELSON
Colorado State College

STUDYING PERSONALITY CROSS-CULTURALLY. By Bert Kaplan, Editor. Evanston, Ill.; Row, Peterson and Company, 1961, pp. ix+687.

Twenty-four readings with an editorial introduction and epilogue comprise this illuminating and extraordinarily well-organized volume on the subject of culture and personality as it has been treated by specialists. The editor's object has not been to manufacture a "manual describing how to go about doing cross-cultural personality studies" since no one knows how to do this at present, but to embrace within the volume a broad area of theory and research which will present discussions such as may be involved with the history of the major issues in the field, with those that deal with problems of research, with the development of a "framework for seeing the influence of cultural factors in personality study," and with a "survey of relations between linguistic and cross-cultural personality study," as well as several others.

Organized into five major parts dealing with theory and research, social theory and personality, methodological issues in the cross-cultural study of personality, problems of cross-cultural research, and approaches to cross-cultural personality study, the book embraces major contributions placed under these headings by both theoreticians and methodologists. It is a difficult task to select any for specific mention since all the selections have been chosen for the presentation of specific aspects of the field. Milton Singer contributes a singularly important and fruitful article in which is given not only a fine historical account of culture and personality theory, but also a review of works dealing with such

concepts as national character, social character, and cultural character, relating these to personality study. Talcott Parsons, Melford E. Spiro, Daniel Miller, Dorothy Eggan, and George De Vos are among others who offer enlightening insights into the many problems confronting theory and research.

Talcott Parsons is at his best in his article on "Social Structure and the Development of Personality," holding that: "Relative to the organism, the personality may be regarded as a system of mechanisms of control," and, "the personality thus mediates between the organism and the environment in which it lives." Inkeles, Haufmann, and Beier's articles entitled, "Modal Personality and Adjustment to the Soviet Socio-Political System," review briefly some of the findings of a study made at the Russian Research Center at Harvard University involving an exploration of the attitudes and life experiences of Russians displaced during World War II and who chose not to return to their native land. In the concluding Epilogue, editor Kaplan summarizes some of the key points made by several of the essayists and avers that, as a result of the general picture obtained from the readings, the idea emerges that in the culture and personality field "the greatest interest, and the major excitement, is in theoretical development," and that "concern with methods and methodological issues is premature."   M.J.V.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT. By Robert F. Peck with Robert J. Havighurst, and others. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960, pp. x+258.

This book is a continued longitudinal study based on research data found in the community of "Prairie City." Utilizing the previous studies of this community, the authors have developed a new theory of character development with empirical (though provisional) evidence to support it. It presents a comprehensive explanation of both the motivational sources of individual character and the environmental forces that shape character.

The theory is based on five character ("ideal") types defined in terms of the inner motives and inner controls that determine moral behavior. Based on the findings of the "neoanalytic school," the types focus attention on the ethical aspects of human behavior (Fromm), yet preserve the developmental continuity of Freud's stage-concept. Each of the five character types represents a successive stage in the psychosocial development of the individual.

The "Amoral Type" is often classified as the "psychopathic personality"; the "Expedient Type" selfishly considers others' welfare only to

gain his personal ends; the "Conforming Type" wants to do what others do, and what they say one "should do"; the "Irrational-Conscientious Type" judges a given act according to his own internal standard of right and wrong; the "Rational-Altruistic Type" describes the highest level of maturity.

Important hypotheses suggested as worthy of further testing are: 1. There appears to be such a thing as individual character: a persisting pattern of attitudes and motives that produce a rather predictable kind and quality of moral behavior. This pattern is found in the individual at age ten, and it tends to persist through adolescence. 2. It appears that the basic qualities of personality structure and of interpersonal attitude are predominantly created by the child's experience with his parents. 3. The peer group appears to be less the originator than a reinforcer of moral values and behavior patterns developed in the family.

The research instruments in this study include objective measures of aptitude and achievement, self-descriptive questionnaires, new sociometric methods of measuring personality and character, and detailed interviews. Special research of the family experiences, age mates, school and church indicate the environmental factors influencing the formation of value systems and character. The only limitations of this research lie in the facts that (1) the sample is very small and (2) the "Prairie City" study appears to be "isolated" from our growing urbanized culture. These limitations may be overshadowed by the unique opportunity for such a long-term longitudinal study with its depth of research testing.

<div style="text-align: right">J. REX SMITH</div>

RELIGION IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE: A Study of Religion Through Social Science. By Purnell Handy Benson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960, pp. vi+839.

One of the major values of this work is its interdisciplinary emphasis and approach. Not only is extensive use made of religious literature, but the text examines religion in America through the studies of social and psychological sciences—especially the writings of such men as Charles Horton Cooley, John Dewey, Emile Durkheim, Sigmund Freud, William James, Carl G. Jung, J. H. Leuba, D. C. Macintosh, J. B. Pratt, P. A. Sorokin, and Arnold Toynbee. Official pronouncements, statements, beliefs, and practices of the leading religious groups are also used.

The major divisions deal with the "Scientific Study of Religion," the "Nature of Religion," "Functioning of Religion," "Causation of Religion," and "Religion and Society." The main emphasis is on social

experience as the ground of religion. "In social science the task of religious study is twofold: (1) to compile a cultural record of religious activities, beliefs, and motivations, and (2) to analyze the inner workings of religion in human personality and in group life, what religion is, what it does, and why man is a religion-building animal." Theory and cultural data are combined in the description of religion. Although the author raises the question early in the book about the ability of science to study religion, he proceeds on the assumption that it can and does present a variety of data to indicate how science can contribute to the study and understanding of religion. The major religious bodies (Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant) are studied and described with respect to their beliefs, aims, practices, and experiences. Considerable emphasis is given to the functioning and influence of power in religion, the development of religious personality and culture, and the religious way of life. Under "Religion and Society" the author discusses religious organization, the relation of religion to the social order, family life, and personal relationships. In describing the religious ideas and motivations of the major denominational groups, the functions of religion in culture and personality are stressed. Some consideration is also given to the dysfunctions of religion and how these may be eliminated.   M.H.N.

HANDBOOK OF RESEARCH METHODS IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT.
Edited by Paul Henry Mussen. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960, pp. x+1061.

This handbook gives an important coverage of research methodology in the field of child development by a group of specialists who represent the Committee on Child Development of the National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council. The resulting large volume provides a single source of descriptions and evaluations of research methods that should prove most valuable to scholars engaged in research as a source of information about available techniques and the progress that has been made in the field.

The book is divided into five parts, which begin with the general picture of research methodology in child development. This is followed by chapters on the biological development and the cognitive processes. Parts IV and V should be especially interesting to sociologists as an appraisal of the personality development and the child's social behavior and environment. The last chapter concerns the measuring of characteristics of the family as they are relevant to understanding the child's development. The authors of this chapter point out that the interest in the family as a type of small group with its own patterns of functional

and structural characteristics has greatly increased in recent years. With
this interest and the variety of approaches to the study of the family has
come a need for a schema for classifying concepts in family research and
to illustrate how the concepts at each level have been measured and used
for linking family variables and child-behavior variables. The reader
realizes that a substantial structure has been built and that it has added
to the theoretical understanding of the process by means of which the
family life affects the child.

The coverage of the field that this volume presents is a truly compre-
hensive one; it serves to bring the reader a clear picture of the 1960
research methodology in Child Development.

MARCIA ECK LASSWELL
George Pepperdine College

THE SOCIOMETRY READER. Edited by J. L. Moreno and others.
Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960, pp. xxiv+773.

Beginning with a boldly written preface, historically cast, this *Reader*
will probably be regarded as a tribute to the work of Moreno in sociom-
etry, which he looks upon as the climax of all that is excellent in
American sociology. Linking three main currents of social thought
developing within the last one hundred fifty years, namely sociology,
scientific socialism, and sociometry, he hypothesizes the focus of the first
as being the development of a rigorous system embracing all social
sciences, of the second as ordering a doctrine to prepare and produce
proletarian revolutions, while the last has for its purpose "to comprehend
and measure the socius." It is to be hoped that this linkage of sociology
with scientific socialism will not be misunderstood by those who will
indulge in a superficial reading of the preface. The preface traces the
beginnings of the sociometric movement in the United States as far
back as Ward and Giddings. It has flourished here particularly since
"the American man loves to express status in figures, he is the 'homo
metrum.'"

The sociometric movement reveals sociometry as having had direct as
well as indirect influence upon "group dynamics, action research, process
and interaction analysis" as well as sponsoring some of the following:
"spontaneity theory; revision of experimental method in social science;
measurement of interpersonal relations; emergence of social microscopy
and microsociology; the experimental approach to role theory, known as
role playing, psychodrama, and sociodrama."

The major portions of the book deal with the foundations, methods,
major areas of explorations, and the history of sociometry. Moreno and

Helen H. Jennings are the sole contributors to the first portion of the book. Among the other authors who have been selected for appearance in the volume are Joan Criswell, Leo Katz, Leslie D. Zeleny, Charles P. Loomis, and John T. Gullahorn, while the historical section has been supplied by Jiri Nehnevajsa. The articles have been selected with care from several sources and contain some choice bits of description and significant illustrative materials from research projects under the aegis of sociometry and its discipline. A very fine article on "Role" by Moreno, one on "Status" by Zeleny, another on "Tapping Human Power Lines" by Loomis, and still another by Charles H. Proctor on "Informal Social Systems" may be mentioned as illustrative of the good materials to be found. Moreno, who is superlatively, and sometimes extravagantly, enthusiastic about the sociometric movement, declares that a new level of social insight will be reached through it. Man is now attempting to measure every social phenomenon, but one may well ask with caution, can the measurer measure himself objectively and with assurance?

M.J.V.

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ENCOUNTER. Selected Essays. By Gordon W. Allport. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960, pp. x+386.

In these reprinted papers, some of which have been revised, the author expounds his belief that "personality is both a self-contained system and open to the world," hence, the title, *Personality and Social Encounter.* Further light is thrown on this title by the main headings under which the essays are presented, such as, Motivation and Structure in Personality, Normative Problems in Personality, Group Tensions, and Perception and Social Programs.

Personality is viewed by the author as a "person-system" of attitudes, traits, trends, motives, sentiments, moral nature, and so on, and their interrelations. Personality is also viewed as centered in an organism that is replete, in motivation that is "normally a fact of present structure and function," in "units of analysis capable of living syntheses," and in self-consciousness. The factors comprising personality are treated as nomethetic units that fall into ten classes, for example, intellectual capacities, syndromes of temperament, social attitudes. Personality is called "a post-instinctive phenomenon."

A gap is predicated between the self and the ideal self as a "serviceable imbalance." The result of no such gap is illustrated by "smug psychotics." Dewey's position is approved—that a psychological problem is involved in "the common man's need to participate in his own destiny."

The underlying "causes and manifestations" of prejudice in South Africa and the United States "are the same." A definition of prejudice (similar to one given long ago by Aquinas) is: "Prejudice is being down on something you are not up on." This type of hostility is regarded as arising "not from unacceptable characteristics in other people, but from our private disorders for which the hated group is not responsible."

Regarding one's cultural nature, the author significantly remarks: "No person knows his own culture who knows only his own culture." Concerning social work, the observation is made: "Social service has a greater clarity of perspective than does politics or commerce. . . . Its foundations are eternally valid." Of war, the author says: "Left alone, people themselves could not make war." Further, "Confidence in the United Nations is itself a key to the prevention of war."

All in all, the author has brought together in this volume a wide range of wisdom distilled from many years of analyzing the various facets of personality and of its relationships with its physical and social environments.   E.S.B.

MY NAME IS LEGION: Foundations for a Theory of Man in a Relation to Culture. Volume I, The Stirling County Study of Psychiatric Disorder and Socio-cultural Environment. By Alexander H. Leighton. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. xii+452.

PEOPLE OF COVE AND WOODLOT: Communities from the Viewpoint of Social Psychiatry. Volume II, The Stirling County Study of Psychiatric Disorder and Socio-cultural Environment. By Charles C. Hughes, Marc-Adelard Tremblay, Robert N. Rapoport, and Alexander Leighton. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960, pp. ix+574.

These are the first two volumes of a series of three which report a ten-year study designed to explore the relationship of psychiatric disorders of community constituents to certain conditions and factors in their communities. Volume I states the theoretical framework to which the study is related and Volume II describes the communities in which the field study was carried out, together with some amplification of a few theoretical points.

Stated very briefly, the gross points of the theory take the following pattern. Interaction with the constituents of a community (differential association) requires the evolution and differentiation of sentiments in the person; there could be no social organization otherwise. A sentiment is defined as a feeling about an idea or a knowledge, e.g., one's feeling about the propriety of twelve-year-old girls wearing lipstick or about miscegenation. Thus, interaction is the process through which both

community and personality emerge continuously from the raw materials of human biology. As the functional integration of cognition and affect proceeds in the persons who comprise a community, so it proceeds in the community which they comprise. Leighton cautiously avoids the full development of a concept of social pathology, but he leads his readers to believe that it is likely that psychiatric pathology of sociocultural origin and social pathology, if and when the latter concept *is* more fully developed, are also one process.

The etiology of mal- or dys-functional psychic conditions in the person may be traced in any or all of four personality areas—the genetic, the physiological, the psychological, and the sociocultural, an aspect complicated by the substitutability of presenting symptoms from one area to another. On this theoretical basis, a general hypothesis is set up that there will be a relationship between sociocultural factors in a community and the proportion of psychiatric disorders in that community. Hypothetically, a two-by-two table was set up with ethnic factors on one dimension and the degree of social disintegration present on the other. It is proposed to survey the extent of psychiatric disorder in communities of all four types.

Volume II presents a fairly detailed description of the social and cultural characteristics of the communities selected for study—Acadian and English villages on the North Atlantic seaboard. Some of the field work brought about revisions of the original plans—for example, the solidly ethnic communities were rated integrated for both Acadians and English while the relatively disintegrated villages were ethnically mixed, so that the original two-by-two table was not carried out. A proposed study of social classes was replaced by a study of interacting social clusters for reasons not altogether surprising to this reviewer. But for the findings with respect to the main hypothesis, we must await Volume III.

Although one never gets the impression that Leighton's thoughts are strangled by the Prussian precision of watchmaker-type theory, the result is systematic, and the emerging system is an intellectual heir to symbolic interactionism and interpersonal psychiatry, although he makes occasional references to the structure-functionalists. Two quotations will bear this out: "The essence of personality is in its continuous adjustment to continuously altering circumstances," and "The existence of a community . . . depends on sentiments and their representation in symbols."

Summed up so far, both volumes are excellent. This is the way sociological research ought to be carried out. The spirit behind these volumes is exemplary.   T.E.L.

THE MANIPULATION OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR. By Albert D. Biderman
    and Herbert Zimmer, Editors. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.,
    1961, pp. xii+323.

Throughout the ages, man has been concerned with ways and means
to influence, control, and manipulate his fellow man. In the present
era, the Western World has been confronted by the knowledge that the
Communist World has resorted to a process known generally as "brain-
washing" in order to elicit information from captives. Have any recent
scientific developments given rise to techniques that make it possible for
an unwilling subject to have information exacted from him which will
profit his captors? Such is the problem under exploration by the editors.
A good deal of the "work in this book was sponsored by the U.S. Air
Force because of their interest in the problems" facing war prisoners.

Seven articles by experts in the various aspects of the problem are
offered as a kind of survey for the findings emanating from studies made
by these experts. These deal with: (1) the physiological state of the
interrogation subject as it affects brain function; (2) the effects of re-
duced environmental stimulation on human behavior; (3) the use of
drugs in interrogation; (4) physiological responses as a means of evalua-
ting human behavior; (5) the potential use of hypnosis in interrogation;
(6) the experimental investigation of interpersonal influences; and
(7) counter manipulation through malingering.

Generally, all these accounts are related from actual experiments with
the methods indicated and, as a whole, they provide a fascinating array
of the attempts made to discover the extent to which unwilling subjects
submit, resist, or evade. Is the human will unconquerable? Is it capable
of total annihilation? Does everyone have a breaking point? Punishment,
coercive measures, deprivation of bodily needs, inducement of disordered
brain functioning, heightened suggestibility are all considered in the
essays.

Social psychologists may find some pertinent materials in the articles
by Philip E. Kubzansky on the effects of reduced environmental stimuli
on behavior wherein suggestibility is discussed, and by Robert R. Blake
and Jane S. Mouton on the experimental investigations of interpersonal
influence. In the latter, consideration is given to "shifts of behavior in
the direction of the frame of reference of others ('conformity'), absence
of movements or shifts in a different direction ('resistance'), and to the
observance of some explicit request or prohibition ('compliance')." From
this review, they conclude that the person least able to resist conformity
pressures would be one who is submissive, lacking in self-confidence,
desirous of social approval, and being "uncritical, conventional, and

authoritarian." Martin T. Orne's offering on the potentialities of hyp-
nosis in interrogation is an excellent summary of the present state of one
of the uses of direct suggestion and indicates that, while information may
be obtained by hypnosis, it may be either accurate or inaccurate. This
collection of articles is most valuable and informative and sustains a high
degree of interest throughout.   M.J.V.

JUVENILE JUSTICE: A Comparative Study with Special Reference to the
    Swedish Child Welfare Board and the California Juvenile Court System.
    By Ola Nyquist. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., and New
    York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1961, pp. xiii+302.

Juvenile Justice is Volumne XII of the Cambridge Studies in Crimi-
nology. A. L. Radzinowicz, Editor, points out in the Preface that Dr.
Nyquist's book "makes a notable contribution to a better understanding
of the thought and experience which have been accumulated on the
subject in the last half-century." While the major portion of the book is
devoted to a comparison of Sweden's and California's present systems of
juvenile justice, pertinent international developments are described to
indicate the world-wide scope of significant developments.

Part One is devoted to detail analysis of Sweden's and California's
systems, including descriptions of authorities, jurisdictions, services, ad-
judication procedures, disposition of cases, and ultimate functions. In
Part Two one finds an analysis of structural differentiation and juvenile
justice, with special reference to historical backgrounds and developments,
and the rationale for differentiating between juvenile and adult offenders.
Part III is devoted to a consideration of competent organization, with a
summary survey of international developments and a discussion of teleo-
logical aspects. The appendix includes extracts from the California
Welfare and Institutions Code and a brief summary of criminal court
procedure in the state. The bibliography covers a wide range of material.

The author, an able penologist from the University of Uppsala, made
firsthand studies of the Swedish and California systems and drew exten-
sively upon experiments in other countries. He fully recognized the
difficulty involved in making a comparative international study of laws
relating to juveniles who commit offenses or show other forms of social
misconduct. The Swedish and California systems are compared in detail,
giving major consideration to the organization, functions, and procedures
of the Swedish Child Welfare Board and the juvenile court system as it
operates in California, including probation and related services, and a
description of the California Youth Authority.

The major content consists of summaries of various aspects of juvenile justice. The details are too extensive to review, except to point out that numerous items are compared, including the operations of the local child welfare boards in Sweden and the juvenile courts in California. Among the items considered are the pre-adjudication, adjudication, and disposition levels of procedure in dealing with offenders. The rationale for differentiating between juvenile and adult offenders is described in terms of the influencing factors and age limits. It is noted that the progress in differentiating between the handling of juvenile and adult offenders has been from a recognition of presumed discrimination against juveniles, or treating them as adults, to special institutional treatment and separate hearings for them, to individualized study, and to preventive measures. The international survey of recent developments in various countries indicates progress in juvenile justice. The final chapter on teleological aspects points to some of the unsolved problems and the possible directions for improvement in dealing with juvenile offenders.   M.H.N.

THE SOCIAL THEORIES OF TALCOTT PARSONS, A CRITICAL EX-
    AMINATION. Edited by Max Black. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-
    Hall, Inc., 1961, pp. x+363.

In this volume nine professors in the social sciences at Cornell University review and criticize the writings of Talcott Parsons, who in turn enters an important enjoinder of about forty printed pages. The method of procedure in making this study was unusual, for it involved regular meetings during 1957-58 of the nine professors, which were followed the next year with a series of "public seminars," extensively attended, ending in a session with Professor Parsons replying to some of the questions and criticisms.

The essays in this book range from general summaries of Parsons' social theories, such as those by E. C. Deveraux, Jr., and Robin M. Williams, Jr., to papers on specific topics, such as Parsons' theory of personality (A. L. Baldwin), his theory of identification (U. Bronfenbrenner), his theory of organizations (H. A. Landsberger, W. F. Whyte). Some of these writers bear down heavily in their criticisms of Parsons' writings, for instance, Bronfenbrenner (192), Landsberger (247), Whyte (250, 251, 266), Black (286, 287). Black raises a whole series of pertinent questions regarding Parsons' methods.

One of the most important papers naturally is that in which Parsons replies to his questioners. While he does not have the space to consider all the suggestions and criticisms, he does throw significant light on a number of points. To the statement that his theories are not based

directly on empirical studies, Parsons replies that "apart from matters of temperament and of serious gaps in research training, commitment to major programs of empirical research in the usual sense" would not have been compatible with the carrying through of "a major program in the building of general theory." He expresses his "deepest respect for competent empirical research," but explains that his specialization is in the field of considering the theoretical significance of empirical materials and their codification with reference to theoretical problems.

Parsons likens the function of a social theorist to that of an appellate judge, who is not engaged "in the disposal of cases," but rather with the "interpretation of rules at the higher levels of generality, their codification in relation to general principles," and so on. His references to the backgrounds of his thinking in the works of persons such as Max Weber, Durkheim, Freud, Alfred Marshall help one to understand better his style of writing. He finds a partial defense against the criticism about the "peculiar and unnecessary obscurities" in his writings in what he calls "resistances to certain types of intellectual innovation." To the comment that he has not made disciples, he disclaims any desire in that connection if disciples mean "commitment to doctrines." He declares that his "is not yet a logico-deductive system, but rather a temporal and historical series of contributions toward the development of such a system."

Professor Parsons' theories gain considerable strength in meeting this barrage of interpretation and criticism. His central voluntaristic theory of action with its constituent personality, social, and culture systems stands up well. The four functional problems or imperatives facing each social system are two that involve adjustments to the external milieu and two concerning adjustments within the social system. In abbreviated form the four problems are indicated by the following terms: goal adjustment, adaptation, integration, and latency. His fivefold dichotomous "pattern variables" that every person must face in order to become adjusted to life make a distinct contribution to social theory, although they need further clarification.

It is not clear why no index to the book has been provided; it would have helped in making comparisons of the various viewpoints concerning different aspects of Parsons' ideas. It may be noted that even the authors of severe criticisms of Parsons' concepts include in their discussions complimentary statements of a high order. The entire treatise, including Parsons' rejoinder, is maintained on a high intellectual level. The editor has done a commendable work in putting these discussions of social theory into a useful form.   E.S.B.

STATISTICAL REASONING IN SOCIOLOGY. By John H. Mueller and
    Karl F. Schuessler. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961, pp. xi+
    442.

"Have you heard of the wonderful one-hoss shay, that was built in
such a logical way it ran a hundred years to the day?" Would that our
statistical chaises could give us similar service; but it seems that the
logical ways of the mathematical statistician have such impetus that
most of us who work principally as sociologists and also teach a course
or two in statistics must drive so hard just to keep in sight of new
developments that we are often in doubt as to what statistical methods
should be covered. Nowhere is obsolescence more accelerated than it is
in statistics. The geographical methods of R. A. Fisher had hardly
become matters of general knowledge when the invention of stochastic
models made it apparent that the temporal limitations of the "plat"
approach cramped its utility for the study of processes. Such a rate of
change can be anxiety provoking. Almost in desperation we come to seek
one or another way out of the race.

Mueller and Schuessler's classical treatment of descriptive statistics
is a welcome kind of therapy. For several years most writers of statistical
texts for the use of sociologists have applied the shotgun technique; that
is, they have fired away at the ever-expanding abundance of statistical
forms and mounted upon the pages of their books whatever quarry they
retrieved. *Statistical Reasoning in Sociology* adapts a pedestrian approach.
The reader marches, as it were, with measured stride to mark off the
foundations of the now soaring statistical system. It is no mere sight-
seeing tour guaranteed to make one a successful statistical term dropper.
Every lesson is made meaningful through the use of appropriate illustra-
tive material. The step-by-step procedure is so carefully worked out that
each new bit of information joins the next so easily that recall is rein-
forced by the contiguity of pace and idea. When you have finished the
book, you will not be up to date in the fashionable sense that you will be
able to make nimble reference to this and that esoteric measure, but you
will understand descriptive statistics. You might even realize that sociol-
ogy, in its present state of development, has by no means exhausted the
uses of the simple ways of condensing large amounts of numerical data
so that the important features of populations can be successfully charac-
terized.

The tendency of some sociologists to employ very refined tools to work
data all too crude or to generalize factual relationships out of existence
by fitting them to highly abstract models has provoked the risibilities of
several natural scientists. A science advances to the extent that once

unrelated patterns of events are brought under one rule. To see unity in variety takes more imagination than method. Boltzmann and Maxwell were able to integrate Boyle's and Newton's laws by means of the concept of the average velocity of motion. Sociology needs men of such vision who also subscribe to a law of parsimony in statistics. *Statistical Reasoning in Sociology* is well written to attract the eye to the connectedness of social events. If we learn to put things together "from the ground up" rather than to build statistical castles in Spain, our findings will cease to be so largely ephemeral.   HAROLD T. DIEHL

Los Angeles State College

DIE UNFERTIGE GESELLSCHAFT. Amerika: Wirklichkeit und Utopie. By Herbert von Borch. Munich, Germany: R. Piper & Co., 1960, pp. 374.

As the subtitle indicates, the German sociologist attempts to analyze American society as seen by Continental standards and values. To Europeans, modern America is the great Continent "where the dream of the 'classless society' was nearly achieved," where "the powers of *Massengesellschaft* (society of the masses) are continuously on the move," and where "Nabakov's diabolic novel of the 'teen-age-girl-Undine,' Lolita, originated." The author believes that his countrymen's "concepts of this America as a political and social organism still rest on myths, which are not based any more on reality due to technological progress, two world wars, and merciless self-evaluation of the American people." Therefore, he feels that *unser Amerikabild bedarf dringend der Revision* (our picture of America needs urgently a revision).

The book is divided into three parts: the public institutions, their merits and criticisms (such as the *"schwarz-weisse Muster"*—black-white pattern), the private influences (such as America's "inhibited feelings for and of sex," the "dream of steel," and "The Way of Lives" (The Southern Aristocrats," "The Midwest and its American Superlative," "The Polar Cities: New York and San Francisco," "The Pacific Northwest: The Absence of the Evil," and "Alaska and its *heilsame Verheissung*—wonderful promise"). While the volume is well indexed, there is no bibliography, and the reader can only surmise the author's source material. Generally, it is of interest to see ourselves through the eyes of another nation—this volume aims to "introduce us" to Europeans. We are neither all black nor all white. We have our faults, but there is also a great deal that Europeans can admire about us, even though we cannot cope successfully with our racial problems, or our slums. We are still likable, and we hold a promise.   HANS A. ILLING

MONTESQUIEU. Pioneer of the Sociology of Knowledge. By W. Stark. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961, pp. xii+214.

Montesquieu's sociology of knowledge, according to the author, is based on "the double conviction" that all cultural phenomena "in a given society" are closely akin, and that all cultural phenomena in one society are "also akin to the non-cultural, sub-cultural phenomena characteristic of that society." The causes of mental phenomena are various, for example: climate, religion, laws, maxims of government, mores, manners, which "always act jointly, yet not everywhere with the same relative strength." Moreover, there is a dichotomy of moral causes and physical causes, "of governmental and geographical determination of thought-processes." The "mind-determining tendencies" of the physical environment of a society may be countered by "the stronger mind-determining influences arising from the socio-political, and, in particular, from the constitutional life." The author has combed Montesquieu's writings thoroughly and has made out a strong case for Montesquieu as one of the forerunners if not a pioneer of the sociology of knowledge.

The title of the book may be considered somewhat misleading, for it does more than portray the sociology-of-knowledge ideas of Montesquieu. It portrays Montesquieu in a variety of philosophic roles and throws new light on the social ideas of the distinguished author of *The Spirit of Laws* and other treatises.   E.S.B.

SOCIETY AND PERSONALITY. By Tamotsu Shibutani. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961, pp. x+630.

Carrying the subtitle, "An Interactionist Approach to Social Psychology," this text offers an abundance of strikingly good writing, making for a distinctive clarity of thought. Its principal thesis is that human nature and the social order are products of communication. One of its vantages from a social psychological point of view is the tendency on the part of its author to draw from the literature on personal experiences for illustrative materials, many of which are listed also in an appendix. These take the form of "autobiographies, letters, diaries, and the clinical records of psychiatrists." Influenced by "two great intellectual traditions: pragmatism and psychoanalysis," the discussions reflect much that is philosophical and analytically behavioristic, but these are well tempered with a constant maintenance of a scientific attitude. In fact, the introduction gives an excellent and critical account of the attempts to apply the scientific approach of the "external paraphernalia of the successful sciences." The "forbidding jargon" adopted by some social scientists,

"the development of complex techniques for indirect observation and measurement," the "investigation of insignificant problems," and the consequent concentration upon "technical elegance" are criticisms well stated.

Organized so as to emphasize those regularities of human behavior which emerge as a result of participation in group actions, the subject matter, aside from an introduction and conclusion, is presented through the medium of four major divisions, namely, social control, motivation, interpersonal relations, and socialization. Such well-known concepts as social role, behavioral systems, social process, and communication are given clear and lucid treatment. One of Shibutani's best chapters deals with the structure of personal identity or the self image in which occurs a skillful blending of common sense with the philosophical and the psychoanalytic. Some may object for instance to the statement that the "concept of social status which refers to a person's standing in a community is not to be confused with the concept of conventional role . . . ." For many, there are as many statuses for a person as there are groups to which he belongs, and status is always related to role.

The book concludes by dealing with some of the essentials for a better oriented social psychology. Singled out is that the "growth of social psychology is both facilitated and hampered by the fact that social psychologists are subject to the type of social control prevailing in mass societies." That the social psychologist, if he is to be one, must have some "familiarity with the intimate details of the lives of a variety of people" sounds like an essential salutary warning, and the author is correct in holding to this idea.   M.J.V.

THE CRIME PROBLEM. By Walter C. Reckless, Third Edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961.

This well-known text on crime and delinquency is a broad analysis of the subject. The material has been brought up to date and the new additions include an overview chapter, one on homicide and suicide, an enlargement of the section on causation (seven chapters instead of two), and the expansion of the description of delinquency (three chapters instead of one). Besides, additions have been made to other chapters. Possibly the most outstanding characteristic of the text is that the author has drawn material from a wide range of sources, summarized and evaluated the major theories and findings of research in a concise and readable manner, and systematically organized the available data. One can discern many evidences of maturity of judgment based on years of experience as a teacher, writer, and research specialist.

The analysis of the specific orders of criminal behavior has considerable merit. Beginning with the criminality of women, he describes in succession sex offenders, homicide and suicide, ordinary and professional criminal careers, organized crime, and white-color and black-market offenses. While there is no attempt to develop and systematize a typology of crime or of criminal behavior, the discussions of the above-mentioned offenses represent a contribution in this direction. One of the needs in criminological research is the development of criminal typology as a framework for the etiological analysis of criminal behavior. During the past decades there has been a movement away from general theories of crime to separate explanation of various types of crime or criminal behavior; but the difficulties involved in such an endeavor are obvious. No commonly accepted system of classification of criminal behavior has as yet been devised.   M.H.N.

SOCIOLOGY OF CRIME. Edited by Joseph S. Roucek. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1961, pp. 551.

This symposium on crime covers a fairly wide range of topics, yet certain aspects of crime are either omitted or referred to only briefly. The introductory section presents a framework for the sociological approach to the analysis of adult crime, juvenile delinquency, legal norms, and criminological definitions. Various theories of crime are reviewed. A longer section is devoted to sociopsychological aspects of crime. The main emphasis is on such factors as psychopathic personality, first- and second-generation immigrants, geographic conditions, ideological aspects, juvenile delinquency in relation to the school, and mass communication. The discussion of "Psychopathology of the Social Deviate" leaves much to be desired. Important personality factors in relation to crime are omitted, and the use of the term "psychopathic" is questionable. The social variables dealt with are described concisely and fairly adequately.

Three chapters are devoted to certain experimental efforts at treatment and prevention, including descriptions of theories of penology, sociological aspects of confinement, and recent efforts to handle delinquency. A number of recent projects designed to control delinquency are concisely described.

Perhaps the most important part of the book deals with selected aspects of crime, criminology, and corrections in England and in Western Europe; and the discussions by Roucek of "The USSR and the European Satellites," which section includes descriptions of juvenile delinquency and crime in soviet countries, the characteristics of their criminal laws, and the police and penal system.   M.H.N.

THE SELF CONCEPT. By Ruth C. Wylie. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961, pp. xiii+370.

The discussion of the self concept or "the self as the individual who is known to himself" is fraught with complexities as this excellent and somewhat salutary study demonstrates. Dr. Wylie reports that her purpose was "to review critically the recent research literature in the area of 'self psychology.'" She has organized her materials so that an overview of these may be obtained. Her goals included the "analysis of the requirements for adequate measurement and research design," and to pointing out "the limitations in method which recur frequently in the studies reviewed," and added to these, "to summarize what appear to be reasonably safe conclusions after allowing for these limitations. . . ." The theories under scrutiny because of their accorded significance to the self concept have been formulated among others by Adler, Angyal, Freud, Horney, Lecky, Rogers, Mead, and Sullivan.

Confronted with different uses of terms and concepts as well as with studies utilizing different kinds of consequent behavior variables and ways of classifying them, the task undertaken yields much that is important and significant for future research, into the area of the behavior of the self, as well as revealing much of the various ways in which the specifications for controlled research designs should be established. The general conclusion is reached that there is an "internal inconsistency in self-concept theory," and that this inconsistency "apparently characterizes all personality theories which emphasize constructs concerning the self . . . and none of these theories, as presently formulated, can be called wholly scientific." It might well be observed that the self probably will be unable to testify to its own behavior if that behavior or a part of it is induced by the physiological activities of the organism of which it is unaware at the time. Dr. Wylie has offered here a report that merits close study on the part of those who are interested in the further study of the self, either phenomenologically or nonphenomenologically.

M.J.V.

DER SOZIALE AUFTRAG DER FREIEN BERUFE. By Heinrich Stiegkitz. Cologne, Germany: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1960, pp. 340.

The present monograph is subtitled "A Contribution to the Cultural Sociology of the Industrial Society," and is one of a series of contributions in sociology and social philosophy edited by Professor René Koenig. In the present discussion, the so-called *freien Berufe* (academic professions) of the middle classes are the focal point of investigation. The author feels that the academic professions have hitherto been surveyed inade-

quately; hence it is deemed to be improbable to describe these professions as a "sociological entity" because of complex social relationships which the author undertakes to "solve." The author alludes to the old concept whereby the academic professions are identical with the "intelligent branches of our society," or, briefly, with our intelligentsia. The author examines the specific functions of these *Kulturberufe* by attempting to delineate a definition and a working concept of a "sociology of intelligence." In his chapters on The Birth of Intelligence, The Function of Intelligence and its Allied Fields, and Self-Criticism of Intelligence, the author tries to create a hypothesis for his research, which, in the second part of this monograph, is executed by a differentiation of *Kulturfunktion* of the intelligentsia and hypotheses of sociological theories concerning the *Kulturberufe*. He concludes that there exists a "functional relationship between intelligence and the *freien Berufe*, but no identification of either function can be made." The monograph has an excellent bibliography of German, French, English, and American references, as well as an excellent subject and author index.   HANS A. ILLING

CONFLUENCE: NATIONAL CHARACTER AND NATIONAL STEREO-
     TYPES. By H. C. J. Duijker and N. H. Frijda. New York: The
     Humanities Press, 1961, pp. xi+238.

The authors of this report are colleagues at the Psychological Laboratory of the University of Amsterdam. They prepared the report for the International Union of Scientific Psychology, and later it was accepted for publication by the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation, whose main task is the preparation of international bibliographies. Four earlier bibliographies have been published by Unesco. This series, entitled *Confluence*, will present surveys of current research on special subjects in the field of the social sciences. This is the first report of the new series and deals with trends in contemporary research anent the concept of "national character" and its meaningfulness and significance.

Revealed for examination are the various conceptions of the term as utilized by researchers in culture and personality studies. These represent the fields of anthropology, psychology, sociology, and other social sciences, and the writers have been selected from fifty-three "politically relevant" countries. Brief evaluations of the studies are offered and are grouped under four categories. These are: (1) investigations using techniques yielding formalized or formalizable results; (2) anthropological or sociological investigations of psychological intent or in other ways aim-

ing directly at "national character" in any sense; (3) community studies with special attention given to child-rearing practices; and (4) a selection of impressionistic studies.

The authors' commentaries succeed in throwing much light on the difficulties encountered in establishing a unified meaning for the concepts, "national character" and "national stereotypes," as well as for such related terms as modal personality and basic personality structure. All these have been subjected to somewhat variant usage in the literature under scrutiny. The authors do suggest that the concept "national character" may be defined as "the systems of attitudes, values, and beliefs held in common by the members of a given society or large portions thereof." The various bibliographies cited for the study undertaken should prove to have much efficacy for new reasearchers in the area.

M.J.V.

COMPENSATION ON THE CAMPUS: Case Studies of College and University Faculty Compensation Practices. Edited by J. F. Wellemeyer, Jr. Washington, D.C.: Association for Higher Education, National Education Association, 1961, pp. 528.

The report begins with a summary of trends in faculty compensation, and then presents case studies of compensation practices in fourteen colleges and universities. The summary section includes a description of trends in academic freedom and tenure, appointment and promotion procedures, salary levels, fringe benefits and supplementary employment, research projects, administrative attitudes toward salary policies and procedures, and provisions for retirement. The more detail descriptions of the fourteen schools include such topics as salary scales for the different ranks, salary policies and procedures, appointment and tenure, promotion, dismissal, retirement, supplementary benefits, financial grants for various purposes, research funds for assistance and materials, travel allowances, sabbatical leaves, housing, and a variety of other compensations and privileges. It is evident from the data presented that colleges and universities have increased the salaries of faculty members and also increased other benefits; and they have made considerable efforts to retain experienced faculty members and to recruit adequate staff. M.H.N.

BOOK NOTES

A GERMAN COMMUNITY UNDER AMERICAN OCCUPATION. By John Gimbel. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961, pp. vi+259.

The community in question is Marburg, and the years covered by this important study are from 1945 to 1952. The procedures of the American military government are described as it sought to remove the ruling Nazi elite and to do away with the Nazi institutions, substituting meanwhile new institutions and training a new leadership, American style. But the leadership potential of this type was disillusioned and even a strain of anti-American sentiment developed among "even the most democratically inclined Germans." The German citizens apparently did not want to be made over into the American pattern, for a variety of reasons that are explained clearly and objectively.

CHALLENGE TO WORLD LEADERSHIP. By Howard G. Kurtz and Thirteen Associates. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959, pp. 24.

The author proposes "a world security organization," either by strengthening the United Nations or by developing a world security authority outside the U.N., that would possess "the power to provide for the physical safety of all the world's peoples," in short, "security against war for all peoples." While "nations are spending billions of dollars perfecting nuclear bombs and preparing to loft human beings over the moon," they "are spending scarcely a dime researching the basic problem of survival of man on earth."

THE U.S. VERSUS THE U.S.S.R.   Ideologies in Conflict. By Robert A. Fearey. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959, pp. 48.

In a remarkably succinct way the author covers a wide range of social thought. He presents, first, a summary of the development of Western ideological beliefs both of America and of the U.S.S.R. Next he discusses the degree of commitment of both Americans and communists to their respective ideologies. Then comes an appraisal of the advantages and disadvantages of the given ideologies for winning the Cold War, followed by an assessment of each ideology's ability to appeal to the uncommitted countries of the world. A brief summary follows. Pertinent suggestions are made for preventing a steady expansion of communist ideology among underdeveloped peoples who want a change for the better in their economic life, and who want that improvement without delay.

PARENTS OF THE HANDICAPPED. By Alfred H. Katz. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1961, pp. 155.

In this discussion of "self-organized parents' and relatives' groups for treatment of ill and handicapped children," the author considers the origins of these groups, the reasons for their growth, their relationships with public and private welfare agencies, and their future as volunteer social agencies or as parent associations. On the basis of interviews, the author found that professional workers varied in their attitudes toward the self-organized groups from "very great acceptance and approval to marked disapproval."

MOUNTAIN WOLF WOMAN. Sister of Crashing Thunder. The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian. Edited by Nancy O. Lurie. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961, pp. xx+142.

Autobiographies of American Indian women are rare, hence this one attracts special attention. This autobiography was recorded on tape and then translated into English. The story is full of human interest details and relates both sad and pleasant experiences. It indicates how the trials of human existence on earth are basically similar among people of different racial backgrounds, and it gives some insight concerning the nature of Indian personalities and problems.

NEW HORIZONS FOR COLLEGE WOMEN. Edited by Leo C. and Ouda G. Miller. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960, pp. 128.

In this book will be found the addresses given in 1960 at the Mississippi State College for Women in a symposium on "The Education of Women." The papers were given by eleven educators, including two papers by the editors. Among the subjects treated were these: Education for What? Women are People, Developing Intellectual Curiosity, Toward Successful Family Living, Developing Community Leaders, What to Look for in a Career, The Myth of the Marriage-Career Conflict.

TOWARD UNITY IN AFRICA. A Study of Federalism in British Africa. By Donald S. Rothchild. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960, pp. 224.

Federalism is defined to mean "a form of constitutional government which distributes the power of the state among various governments, each competent in a limited sphere of activity." Detailed attention is given to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland, and to the Federation of

Nigeria. The coming of Western ideas of freedom, nationalism, and racialism has aroused all Africa to seek speedily political independence, even by small untrained racial units before they are ready for federalism, as a means of obtaining and maintaining economic and political security.

THE COUCH AND THE CIRCLE. A Story of Group Psychotherapy. By Hyman Spotnitz. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961, pp. 274.

This book contains case studies showing how a group psychotherapist works with his patients and how the social relationships of his patients may help or hinder the therapeutic procedures; and also how their reactions in the therapy group throw light on the nature of interpersonal relations.

INTERVIEWING IN SOCIAL SECURITY. As Practiced in the Administration of Old-Age Survivor's and Disability Insurance. By Elizabeth de Schweinitz and Karl de Schweinitz. Baltimore: Bureau of Old-Age and Survivor's Insurance, 1961, pp. 97.

Interviewing is defined as "purposeful directed conversation." Professional interviews are distinguished from informal interviews in that they are conducted "within a framework of special knowledge and related skill involving the exercise of a systematically developed, self-discipline." In this book two distinguished authors combine their skills in discussing the interviewing process in a very specialized field of welfare work.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

LETTERS TO MY TEACHER. By Dagobert D. Runes. New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1961, pp. 105.

FEDERALISM IN INDIA. By Benjamin N. Schoenfeld. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960, pp. 27.

POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT DURING CRISES. By J. Malcolm Smith and Cornelius P. Colter. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960, pp. 184.

EDUCATING THE MORE ABLE CHILDREN IN GRADES FOUR, FIVE, AND SIX. By Gertrude M. Lewis. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1961, pp. 84.

ORGANIZING GROUP DISCUSSIONS. By Carl F. Hereford. Austin: The
University of Texas (copyright by the Hogg Foundation), 1961, pp. 27.

IN DEFENSE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION. By Frederick Mayer.
Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961, pp. 74.

ASPECTS INTERNATIONAUX DES PROBLEMS D'ECONOMIC RE-
GIONALE. Brussels: Institut de Sociologie Solvey, 1959, pp. 538.

INDEX TO VOLUME 45

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

1960-1961

INDEX TO VOLUME 45

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

□

Articles in Forthcoming Issues ...

Articles in Preceding Issue ...